WAR DEPARTMENT EDUCATION MANUAL · EM 203

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American History

Course Four

Part 1: Social and Cultural America
Part 2: America Becomes a World Power

Based on America: Its History and People
by Harold Underwood Faulkner
and Tyler Kepner

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How to Use This Book

Introduction:

This final course in American History falls into two parts. Part 1 describes the social and cultural growth of the American people from colonial times to the present. Too often we think of history as being only the account of political and military affairs. Important as such matters may be, cultural and social development is likewise significant.

The history of our art, literature, science, education and religion is in reality the history of the *people* of America—the kind of homes they lived in, the books and newspapers they read, the schools and colleges they created, the improvement of their daily lives through science and invention. These have all become parts of the American way of life, the partial fulfillment of the "American Dream."

In Part 2 of this course you will see how we have conducted our affairs with other nations over the years. The clear-cut foreign policy laid down by President Washington was no easy one for us to follow. Economic changes brought about many modifications in our relationships with other parts of the world.

After we had achieved our "Manifest Destiny," we began to search elsewhere for the wider markets our expanding industrial civilization demanded. Isolation became increasingly difficult. Our interests reached down into the Caribbean Sea, next across the Pacific. Then we were drawn into the First World War, an experience which tended during the 1920's and 1930's to revive our early belief that we must avoid entanglements in the affairs of Europe. But as the 1930's drew to a close, dictatorship challenged democracy. It seemed that only by aiding the other democracies could we hope to obtain security. Therefore we abandoned our attempts to uphold our isolation. It remains to be seen what course we shall follow in the years to come. What lessons can we, as a people, learn from the history of our relations with the other nations of the world?

Study Procedures:

In an attempt to provide means for you to get the most out of this course in American History, the following general program of study is suggested:

1. *Read each chapter carefully*: Begin by looking at the several boldface paragraph headings throughout the chapter. This will give you a general idea of the contents of the chapter and will help you to understand relationships as you read. Give careful attention to pictures, maps, charts and any other illustrative material as you read. These are included for a definite purpose. When you have finished reading the chapter, try to recall principal facts and their relationship to each other. Reread any parts of the chapter that did not seem clear.

2. *Complete the self-checking exercises*: When you think you have mastered the contents of the chapter, complete the exercises and assignments that are provided. Follow the instructions given for these exercises and assignments carefully. These exercises and assignments have been designed to bring out significant facts and ideas. A key to answers is provided at the end of the book for each type of exercise except those under the heading "Correspondence or Class Assignments." Check your answers by means of the key. The numbers in the parentheses in the key indicate the paragraphs containing the answers. If you made any errors, check the textbook for the correct answers.

3. *Correspondence or Class Assignments*: After each set of self-checking exercises in your book is a group of "Correspondence or Class Assignments." If you are a regularly enrolled student in the USAFI and want help from an instructor as you work through this course, write out your answers to these assignments as you come to them and send the answers to the United States Armed Forces Institute at Madison, Wisconsin, or to a branch of the Institute if there is one nearer than Madison. Be sure to enclose your name and address, the title and number of this manual, and the numbers of the pages on which the assignments appear together with the number of the particular exercise or assignment.

You will receive from the Institute the suggestions of an instructor who has been over your work. He may be able to help you overcome any difficulties you are having with the course. *You are not obliged to send in these assignments.* They are included only for your help and convenience.

If you are working in a class under an instructor, the assignments may be used for outside written work or for class discussion. In any case, read through these assignments. If you are doubtful about the answers to any of them, re-study your text until you are sure you could prepare satisfactory answers.

4. *Course Essay*: When you have completed Course Four you should turn in an essay of 1000 to 2000 words at the time you take your End-of-Course Test. You should not wait until you have completed the course before writing this essay. Begin your essay when you have completed the first half of the course. The following topics are suggested: (a) The Development of Our Public Educational System; (b) Humanitarian Reforms in America; (c) The Development of an American Literature; (d) Social Effects of the Machine Age; (e) The American Peace Movement; (f) From Isolation to Coöperation in Our Foreign Relations; (g) The History of the Monroe Doctrine; (h) Development of Our Interests in the Pacific; (i) Our Foreign Policy for the Future in the Light of the Past; (j) The Expansion of Continental United States.

5. *Some Significant Events in American History*: Appendix II contains a list of events and their dates. You will find this list very helpful if you will go over it frequently. Some events mentioned are not discussed in this book. Such items are listed, however, to give you an over-all picture of our history.

6. *Half-Course Review and Self-Check*: When you have completed the reading of the first five chapters in this book, check your progress by means of the Half-Course Review and Self-Check. A key is provided at the end of the book for this Review. The roman numerals in the parentheses refer to the chapter numbers and the arabic numerals to the paragraphs in the chapters. If you make any errors, check the textbook for the correct answers.

7. *Course Review and Self-Check*: When you have completed the entire book, check your understanding of the major facts and ideas brought out in the Course by means of the Course Review and Self-Check. This should tell you if you are ready for the End-of-Course Test. Follow the directions given above for the Half-Course Review and Self-Check.

8. *End-of-Course Test*: By the time you have completed the first nine chapters of this course, you should apply to the United States Armed Forces Institute, Madison, Wisconsin, or to the nearest branch office for your End-of-Course Test. If you do not have an application blank for this test, ask your Educational Services Officer, your Special Service Officer, or your Librarian to supply you with one.

Before you actually ask the officer who is to supervise your taking of the End-of-Course Test for permission to take the test, you should complete the Course Review and Self-Check following Chapter XI of this textbook. If this check-up indicates that you need a review before taking the test, review carefully. You will then be certain that you can complete the test satisfactorily.

By taking the End-of-Course Test you can obtain a Certificate of Proficiency for this course. This Certificate is issued to let you know how well you have done the work of the course.

Should you need a record of your educational achievement for use in qualifying for a job or in meeting school or college requirements, write to the Commandant, United States Armed Forces Institute, Madison 3, Wisconsin, or to the nearest branch office of the Institute or consult your Educational Services Officer, Special Service Officer, or Librarian.

9. *Additional Courses in American History*: This is the fourth and final course in American History. Course One covers only one phase of American History, our political development down to about 1840. Course Two carries this account on down to the present. Course Three describes our economic development from colonial times down to the present. These additional courses may be obtained, in the order given above, by applying to the United States Armed Forces Institute, Madison 3, Wisconsin, or to the nearest overseas branch of the Institute.

10. *Study Groups*: While these courses in American History have been designed to enable you to study entirely by yourself, you will profit by group study where it is practical, either with or without an instructor. Discussion with others taking these courses will help you to develop your knowledge and ideas about the history of your own country.

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Vol. 4.

PART I: SOCIAL AND CULTURAL AMERICA

CHAPTER I

American Culture and Society in the Late Colonial Period

LIFE IN AMERICA IS PREDOMINANTLY RURAL

1. Everyday Life and Labor. The typical American of the colonial period lived on a small self-supporting farm which could be taken care of by a family. The men raised the foodstuffs necessary for the support of the family, with perhaps some surplus to sell, and often themselves constructed the farm implements and furniture which the family needed. The women preserved the food for winter use, spun and wove the wool or flax and made the clothing for the family. The average farmer needed little from the outside except iron for his agricultural implements and salt for his table.

In the more settled communities and in the more prosperous farming sections where products were raised for outside sale, it was possible for artisans of various types to make a living. Thus we find blacksmiths to supply iron goods; leather workers to make harnesses, saddles, and shoes; cabinet makers to build furniture; fullers and dyers to do the more difficult operations in making woolens; and, of course, a saw and grist mill. Some of the shops of these craftsmen were large enough to support a master with journeymen and apprentices, but manufacturing approaching the scale of factory production existed nowhere. Commodities were chiefly made on order in little shops.

2. Increase of Population. Poverty in the colonies was not widespread; the average farmer lived in rude plenty. This was due primarily to the exhaustless supply of fresh land which had its effect upon every phase of colonial civilization including the rapidity of population increase. Colonial population doubled every 25 years. Part of this growth was due to immigration, but a much larger proportion was due to natural increase. Said the Swedish traveler, Peter Kalm:

> It does not seem difficult to find out the reasons why the people multiply more here than in Europe. As soon as a person is old enough, he may marry in these provinces without any fear of poverty; for there is such a tract of good ground yet uncultivated, that a new married man can, without difficulty, get a spot of ground, where he may sufficiently subsist with his wife and chil-

dren. The taxes are very low, and he need not be under any concern on their account. The liberties he enjoys are so great, that he considers himself a prince in his possessions.

Not only did economic conditions make marriage easy, but the usefulness of children to work on the farms encouraged large families. Kalm speaks of one women in Massachusetts who "has brought sixteen children into the world; and from seven of them only, she had one hundred and seventy-seven grandchildren and great-grandchildren," and of a Mrs. Maria Hazard of New England who, when she died in the hundredth year of her age, "could count altogether five hundred children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and great-great-grandchildren."

3. Classes in Colonial Society. The ease of obtaining land also prevented the growth of a large wage-earning class, and the great need for labor had to be supplied by slaves or indentured servants who obtained their passage money by agreeing to work for from three to five years, after which time they were free. Although desperate poverty was rare, economic classes, of course, existed. In all sections there was an aristocracy, who dominated the political and social life of their communities. In the seaport towns, the aristocracy rested upon wealth derived from commerce; in the agricultural regions, upon large landholdings and commercial farming. It was indeed a far call from the log cabin of the frontiersman or the humble cottage of the artisan to the beautiful mansions of the Virginia planter or the merchant price of New England, decorated with imported wall paper and furnished with the finest of china, silver, and mahogany that the craftsmen of Europe could produce.

PROFESSIONAL CLASSES. Of the professional classes, the clergy were the most influential in New England, where they exercised a power on a par with the commercial aristocracy. In all of the colonies law was a profitable occupation, for the country abounded in lawsuits, and the colonial assemblies gave ample opportunity for the able lawyer to transfer his activities to politics.

Physicians were to be found by the end of the period, but there was rarely enough business to support them, and medicine was usually joined with other occupations such as that of minister, innkeeper, magistrate, schoolmaster, or barber. It was just as well, for the physician of that time was utterly ignorant of the first principles of modern medical science, and usually did more harm than good. The common remedies were physic and bleeding. The former might do little harm, but the "breathing of the veins" undoubtedly hastened the death of many a patient already weakened by illness. The medical books of the time told in great detail of the proportions in which such ingredients as gold leaf, ground rubies or pearls, pulverized butterflies, crickets, grasshoppers, or toad powder should be mixed, and human ingenuity seems to have been exerted to the limit to conceive of vile and useless mixtures. In most cases the medical service was rendered by the housewife herself, or by some woman skilled in nursing and in the preparation of herbs.

One important medical advance, however, was made during the colonial period. Smallpox was the most deadly of colonial diseases. Time and again, entire sections were swept by the dread disease, and few people escaped it. The process of inoculation against it was discovered in England early in the eighteenth century and introduced into America by the courageous Dr. Zabdiel Boylston of Boston. Inoculation, like other medical discoveries before and since, was bitterly opposed by many both in Europe and America. It was called "a Diabolical Operation, which usurps an Authority founded neither in the Laws of Nature or Religion, which tends to anticipate and banish Providence out of the World and promotes the Increase of Vice and Immorality." Backed by some of the leading clergy of Boston, Boylston persisted and proved its usefulness. Soon inoculation was widely practiced.

ARCHITECTS AND ARTISTS. Professional architects hardly existed in the colonial period; the buildings were usually designed by the owners or by the artisans who built them. Some manuals of building circulated in the colonies, but in general the houses were developed from the experience and imagination of the builders. The fireplace, which provided heat and facilities for cooking, was the central feature around which the house was constructed.

In New England the typical house was of wood with little outside adornment, square or oblong in shape, with a succession of sheds in the rear which might be reached without exposure to the weather. In the Middle Colonies, where the population was of mixed origin, several types are to be found. The New England style was carried in by New England immigrants; the house with the Dutch gambrel roof was introduced by the settlers from Holland and constructed of stone and brick as well as wood. The third type was the Pennsylvania stone house, often a combination of various styles. In the South builders were less handicapped by the limitations of climate, and were free to follow their inclination, even to putting the kitchen in a separate building. In general, the southern mansions of the eighteenth century followed the prevailing mode of England, the Georgian style, a beautiful but somewhat artificial combination of various periods of European architecture.

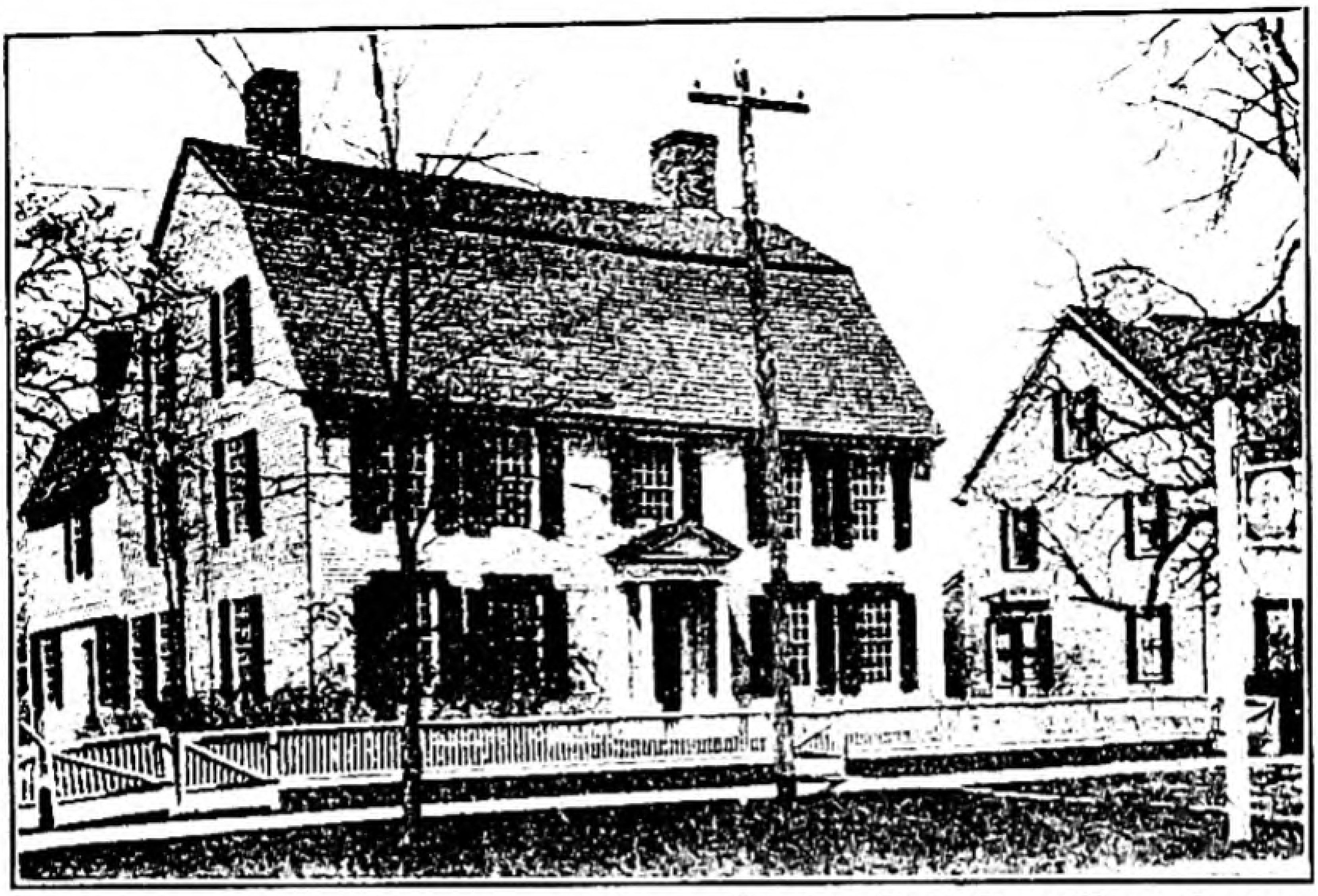
In many cases, the simplicity and dignity of the typical colonial house approached true art. These houses not only were artistic, but they served their purpose well; and modern architects have striven with might and main to recover the spirit and beauty of these early homes. The same may also be said of the best of the furniture which adorned these homes.

Of the painters born in America, Benjamin West, Gilbert Stuart, and John Singleton Copley were the most famous, but the country was too new and raw to support such genius adequately. West and Copley spent most of their productive years in England. Stuart, on the other hand, returned to paint portraits of Washington and other eminent Americans.

4. Colonial Recreation. Our ancestors found time for relaxation in spite of the arduous labor of clearing a new land and founding a civilization. Although the religious holidays and festivities of merry England, such as Christmas, were banned in New England, opportunities for games, athletic contests, and social intercourse were found on "training days," at log rollings, house raisings, corn huskings, or at a ship launching, when members of the community would come together to help a neighbor and at the same time enjoy themselves. Hunting was universally pursued for both pleasure and profit. Notwithstanding colonial tradition, New England was not the gloomy place it has been pictured. In the Middle Colonies and the South horse racing was exceedingly popular; young men of fashion also found excitement and an opportunity to gamble in cockfighting, a degrading form of sport which lasted until long after the Revolution.

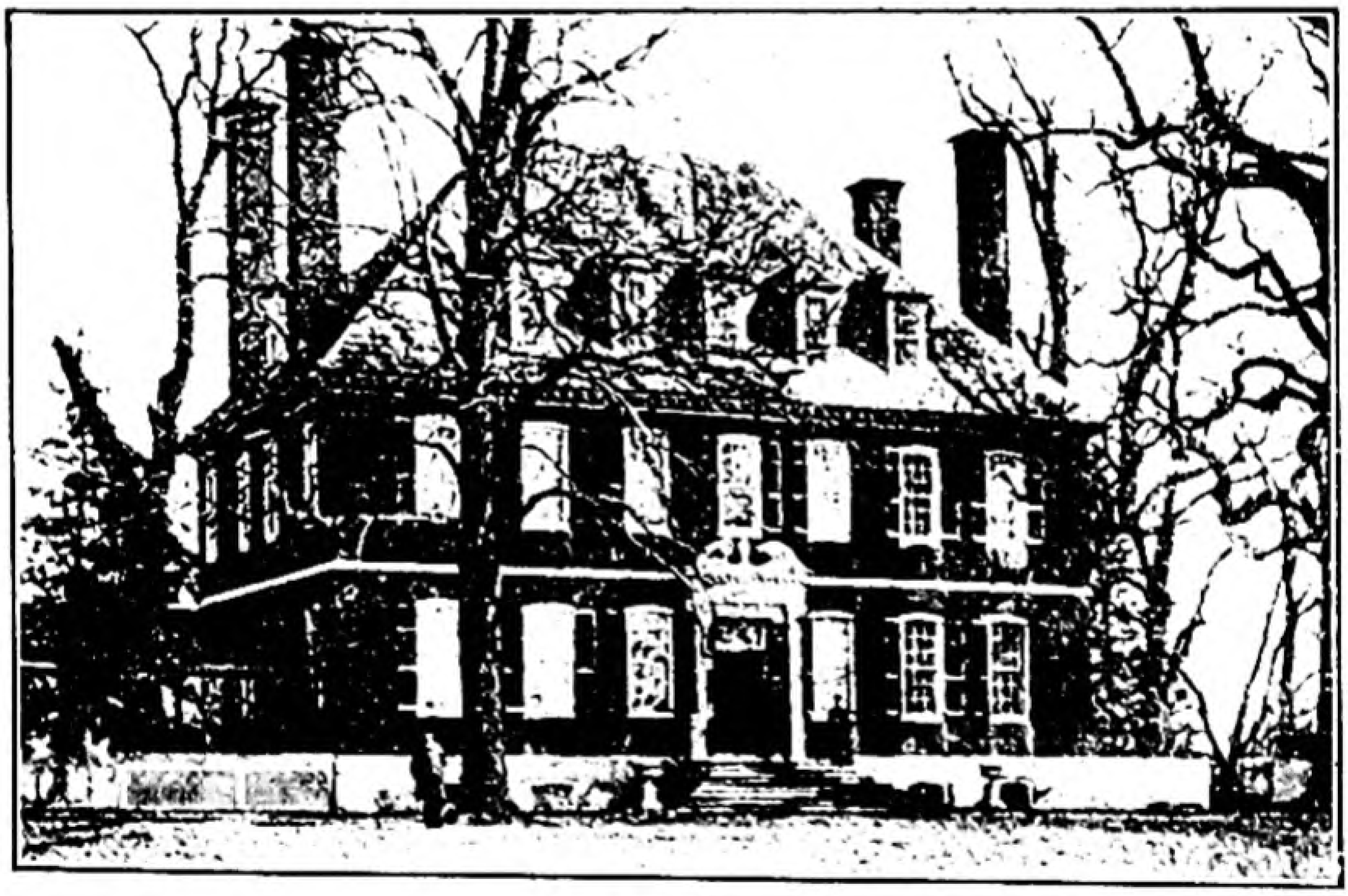
As we turn from outdoor to indoor pastimes, we discover what Professor Andrews calls "the representative colonial vices," namely, smoking, drinking, and gambling. The use of tobacco, taken either as snuff or in a pipe, was quite general, and was indulged in by both men and women. The cigar did not come until after 1800. Our colonial forefathers were heavy drinkers, and the consumption of liquor in large quantities was almost universal among all classes. The wealthy had their imported wines from Madeira, the Canary Islands, and the European Continent, the less prosperous drank their cider, home-brewed ale and beer, or rum, the latter a potent drink distilled from West Indian molasses and not improperly called "kill devil." Gambling was frowned upon in New England, but was general elsewhere; and even in New England public gambling in the form of lotteries was common.

The beginning of the formal drama in America came about the middle of the eighteenth century when traveling companies began to tour the Middle Colonies and the South, producing Shakespearean and current London plays. There was much religious opposition to this "playacting," but it continued to develop. The first permanent theater in America, the Southwark, was built in Philadelphia in 1766. Concerts were sometimes given in the larger towns, and the ancestors of the present piano were to be found in the wealthy homes. Dancing was probably the most popular



Courtesy State Street Trust Company

NEW ENGLAND



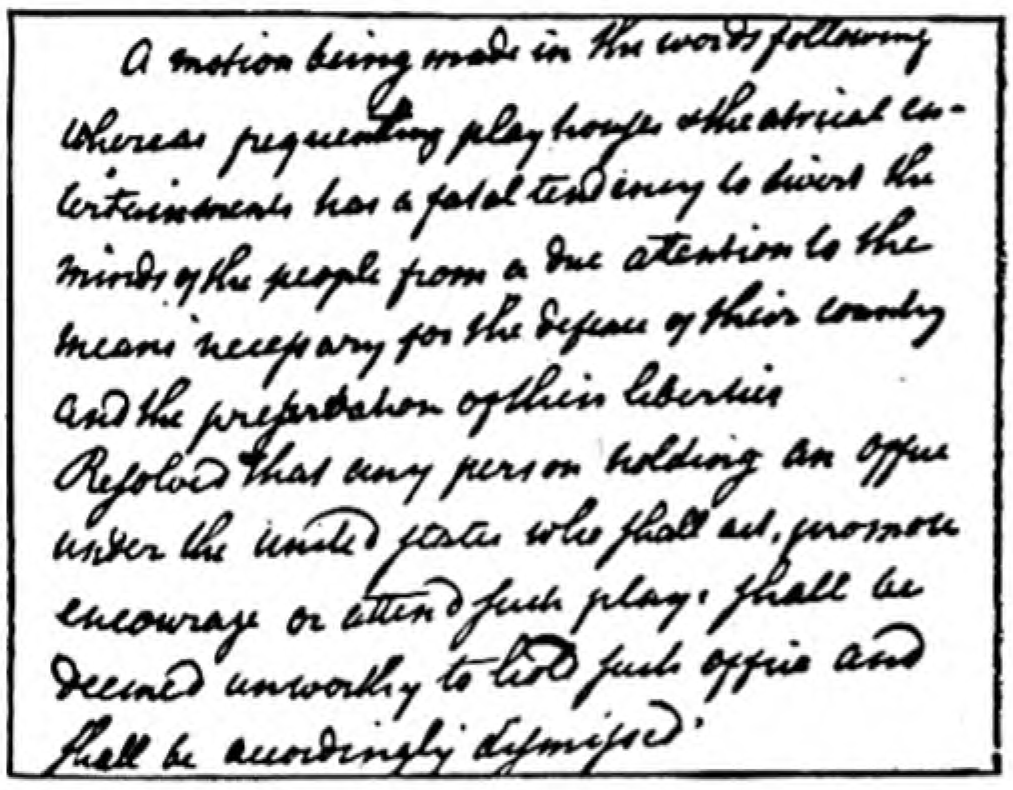
THE SOUTH

COLONIAL MANSIONS

It was at the Webb House (top) at Wethersfield, Connecticut, that the historic conference between Washington and Rochambeau was held on May 22, 1781, preparatory to the campaign of that year which ended in the victory at Yorktown. Westover (bottom), an early Georgian mansion in Virginia, was erected by Colonel William Byrd, 2nd, between 1727 and 1735.

of all indoor amusements. "Dancing," said one traveler among the people of North Carolina, "they are all fond of, especially when they can get a Fiddle, or Bagpipe; at this they will continue Hours together, nay, so attached are they to this darling Amusement, that if they can't procure music, they will sing for themselves," and this description applies to most of the colonies.

5. Crimes and Punishment. Like their descendants, the colonists had to meet the problem of the lawless and delinquent. The colonial administration of justice was modeled on the English system, as was the criminal code, and it handled the usual cases of thievery, assault, and other crimes. Judged by present standards, justice in the eighteenth century was severe and cruel. The lesser penalties included whipping, exposure in the stocks and pillories—sometimes with the ear nailed to the post—branding, mutilation, ducking, and imprisonment. The availability of other forms of punishment and the need for labor combined with the expense and trouble of imprisonment to make it unpopular as a means of correction. Jails, of course, existed, so filthy and degrading that they beggar description. For major offenses, capital punishment was inflicted, but it is gratifying to record that the colonists were far ahead of Europe in this matter. Massachusetts, for example, enumerated in 1641 only 12 capital crimes, whereas in England at that time over 300 crimes were punishable by death.



A motion being made in the words following
Whereas frequenting play houſe & theatrical entertainments has a fatal tendency to divert the
minds of the people from a due attention to the
means neceſsary for the defence of their country
and the preservation of their liberties
Reſolved that any person holding an office
under the united ſtates who ſhall act, promote
encourage or attend ſuch plays, ſhall be
deemed unworthy to hold ſuch office and
ſhall be accordingly diſmiſsed.

RESOLUTION OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS IN 1778 DENOUNCING THEATRICAL PERFORMANCES

Congress in 1774 passed a resolution recommending immediate suspension of all public amusements. In 1778 the more stringent resolution here represented was passed. The result was that theatrical performances, except those promoted by British officers, ceased in the states until the end of the war.

Quite naturally lawlessness was more prevalent on the frontier than in the more settled regions, and the attitude of many frontiersmen toward the law is well illustrated by one who exclaimed:

> Now-a-days you can't put an inch or so of knife into a fellow, or lam him over the head with a stick of wood, but every little lackey must poke his nose in, and law, law, law is the word. Then after the witnesses swear to their pack o' lies, and the lawyers get their jaw in, that old cuss that sits up there

high and grinds out the law to 'em, he must have his how-de-do. I tell you I wont stay in no such a county. I mean to go to Texas, where a man can have some peace and not be interfered with in his private concerns.

AN AMERICAN CULTURE BEGINS TO TAKE FORM

6. Schools and Churches. The crude frontier conditions of the colonial period were not helpful to purely intellectual activity or to the development of learning. Nevertheless, many of the early leaders were men of education, and sincere efforts were made to prevent the intellectual heritage of Europe from being dissipated in the wilderness of America. In New England were to be found the dame school, in which teachers, usually women, taught little children the Catechism and the complexities of spelling and easy reading with the aid of the hornbook[1] or primer. Above this was the grammar school, where Latin and Greek occupied almost the entire time and where a student might prepare for college. In a famous law of 1647, asserting that it was "One cheife project of ye auld deluder, Saten, to keepe men from the knowledge of ye Scriptures," Massachusetts ordered every town with 50 householders to appoint a teacher of reading and writing, and every town with 100 householders to set up a grammar or Latin school to fit youths for the university.

Although inadequately enforced, this law was important. For the first time among English-speaking people it asserted "the right of the state to require communities to establish and maintain schools," and it laid down a principle which has since characterized American education—the obligation of the community to see that educational facilities are provided. With the exception of Rhode Island, this system of universal compulsory instruction was followed throughout New England.

In the Middle Colonies, public schools existed in some communities, but education in general was carried on through schools conducted and maintained by the various churches. In Maryland and the Southern Colonies the English tradition in favor of private schools was strong. Although there were public schools supported by the community with no tuition charge, southern schools in the main were privately maintained. The wealthy planters often hired private tutors, and occasionally sent their children to England to be educated.

COLONIAL COLLEGES. Higher education appeared even before there were secondary schools. This was due chiefly to the large proportion of educated clergymen who arrived in New England during the first half-century of its settlement. One historian notes that for most of this early period there was one to every 40 families. "So large a number were located within a short distance of Boston," he points out, "that we may safely say that such a concentration of educated men in a new settlement, in proportion to the population, has never occurred before or since."

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[1] The "hornbook" was a sheet of paper pasted on a flat piece of wood and covered with a transparent horn to save the printing underneath. It had a handle at one end which gave it the appearance of a paddle, and made it usable for purposes of punishment.

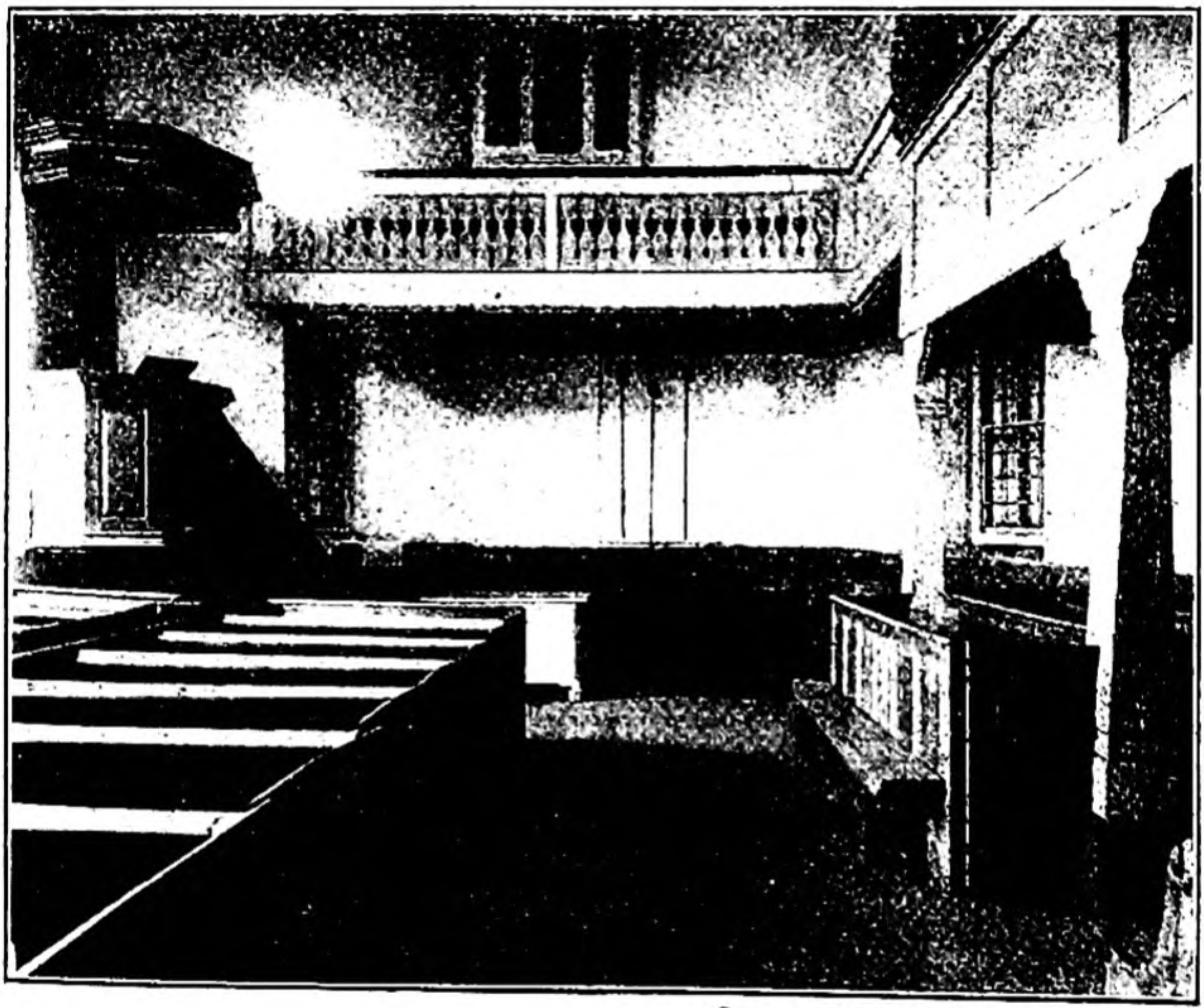
In such environment a college was founded by the Massachusetts legislature in 1636, a few years later called Harvard after John Havard who left his library and half of his estate to the struggling young institution. The second college established in the English colonies was William and Mary, founded in Virginia in 1693 under the direction of Anglican clergy. With this purpose in mind, the legislature had sent Dr. James Blair to England, and he was so successful that he returned not only with a charter, but with a subscription of £2000 from the king and queen.

Reacting against the liberal tendencies of Harvard, the Connecticut clergy in 1701 founded Yale University. By the end of the colonial period six other similiar institutions had been established: the College of New Jersey (now Princeton), the Academy at Philadelphia founded by Franklin (now the University of Pennsylvania), King's College at New York (now Columbia), Rhode Island College at Providence (now Brown), Queens (now Rutgers), and Dartmouth. These colleges were all small, and the curriculum was largely based on the classical languages. For the first 50 years the president of Harvard did much of the teaching.

In spite of these efforts, the general educational standard of the colonial period was not high. Illiteracy was widespread, particularly on the frontier. Except for the New England common schools, a few "finishing schools" and "dame schools," education was usually not for girls. The first immigrants were often better educated than the second or third generation in this country. The significance of the story of colonial education is the heroic effort of the settlers to preserve the culture which had been brought from the home land against the crushing forces of life in a new country, and the fact that a foundation was laid for a system of public education.

COLONIAL RELIGION. In colonial New England the church held a position of power and influence which it has never since attained in America. Membership in the state church was expected, church attendance and the support of the church were compulsory, and in Massachusetts even the right to vote was dependent upon church membership until 1691. The activities of the church were so intertwined with those of the state that the government was virtually a theocracy.

The church was both the spiritual and intellectual center of the community where the Sunday service and the Thursday lecture provided the high spots of the week. In the New England theocracy the clergy assumed a natural leadership and were the most powerful men in the community. Towering head and shoulders above their congregations in education, interpreting with no uncertain authority the will of God, and enormously influential in the civil government, they were looked up to with reverence, and they ruled with an iron hand. Except in Rhode Island, a state church existed, and there was little dissent from the religious teachings of such a church until the end of the colonial period.

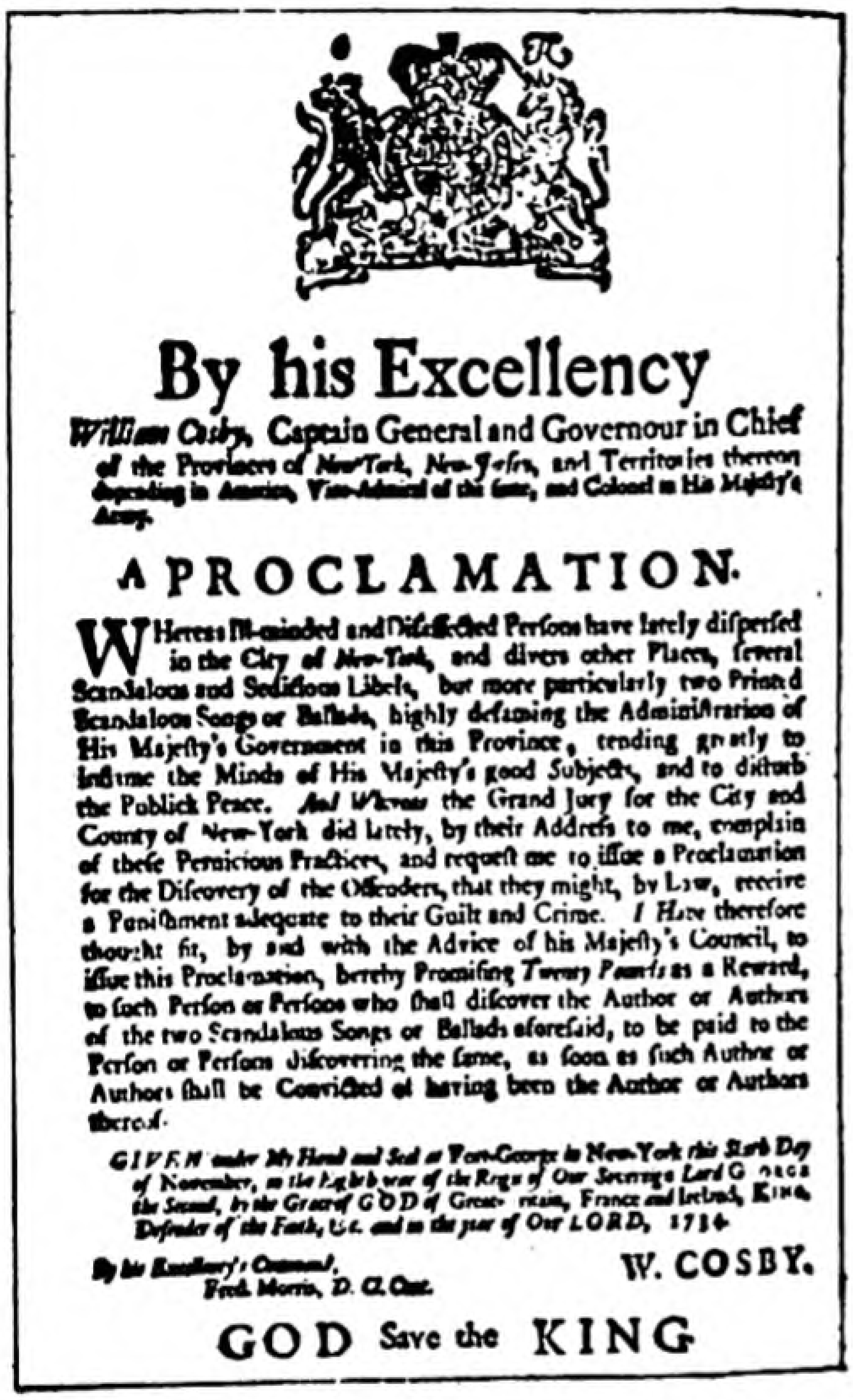


Courtesy Pennsylvania Museum of Art

COLONIAL CHURCH ARCHITECTURE

The Augustus Lutheran Church, Trappe, Pennsylvania, built in 1743 under the direction of its first regular pastor, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg. As the oldest unaltered Lutheran church in America, it is today a Lutheran shrine. The church was used as a hospital by the Continental troops after the battle of Germantown.

The Middle Colonies were a hodgepodge of religious denominations. The Congregationalism of the New England settlers, the Presbyterianism of the Scotch-Irish, the Church of England, the Dutch Reformed Church of the settlers from Holland, the Quaker followers of William Penn, the Catholic refugees from England, and the numerous German sects broke the population into too many religious groups to allow a state church in any of the Middle Colonies. Among many of these groups, nevertheless, religion occupied as important a place in the everyday life as it did in New England. The clergy exerted a powerful influence, but it was confined largely to religion rather than to government.



By his Excellency

William Coſby, Captain General and Governour in Chief of the Provinces of *New-York*, *New-Jerſey*, and Territories thereon depending in *America*, Vice-Admiral of the ſame, and Colonel in His Majeſty's Army.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHereas Ill-minded and Diſaffected Perſons have lately diſperſed in the City of *New-York*, and divers other Places, ſeveral Scandalous and Seditious Libels, but more particularly two Printed Scandalous Songs or Ballads, highly defaming the Adminiſtration of His Majeſty's Government in this Province, tending greatly to inflame the Minds of His Majeſty's good Subjects, and to diſturb the Publick Peace. *And Whereas* the Grand Jury for the City and County of *New-York* did lately, by their Addreſs to me, complain of theſe Pernicious Practices, and requeſt me to iſſue a Proclamation for the Diſcovery of the Offenders, that they might, by Law, receive a Puniſhment adequate to their Guilt and Crime. *I Have* therefore thought fit, by and with the Advice of his Majeſty's Council, to iſſue this Proclamation, hereby Promiſing *Twenty Pounds* as a Reward, to ſuch Perſon or Perſons who ſhall diſcover the Author or Authors of the two Scandalous Songs or Ballads aforeſaid, to be paid to the Perſon or Perſons diſcovering the ſame, as ſoon as ſuch Author or Authors ſhall be Convicted of having been the Author or Authors thereof.

GIVEN under My Hand and Seal at Fort-George in New-York this Sixth Day of November, in the Eighth year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord GEORGE the Second, by the Grace of GOD of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, KING Defender of the Faith, &c. and in the year of Our LORD, 1734.

By his Excellency's Command,
Fred. Morris, D. Cl. Conc.

W. COSBY.

GOD Save the KING

PROCLAMATION AGAINST ZENGER

In the course of a political quarrel between the British governor and one section of the people of New York, John Peter Zenger, publisher of the New York *Weekly Journal*, printed charges which the governor alleged to be libels. Zenger was thrown into prison, but in a famous trial won his freedom. His victory was the first great blow struck in America for the freedom of the press.

Although the Anglican Church was established in all the Southern Colonies and supported by public funds, religion was far from the serious business that we find it in the North. While there were many ministers of piety and intellectual vigor, the average clergyman was the companion rather than the spiritual guide of the planter. His appointment usually rested in the governor or proprietor, and was often determined by political or personal interests. In the latter half of the eighteenth century the position of the Anglicans was considerably weakened as adherents of various dissenting churches began to migrate from the North down the mountain valleys to the frontier.

7. Books and Newspapers. With their energy largely absorbed in establishing homes in a none too friendly wilderness, the colonial settlers could hardly be expected to occupy themselves to any great extent with writing. They were pioneers in the opening of a new civilization, not pioneers in science or literature. Nevertheless, there was some writing—descriptions of the new land, histories of the settlement of the country, and, above all, publications on religion, for the educated men were usually of the clergy.

Most of the early books written in America were printed in England, but a printing press was set up in Cambridge in 1639 and by the Revolution they were to be found in all of the colonies. Some of the writings of both Cotton Mather and Jonathan Edwards, who were endowed with perhaps the most learned and powerful minds of the period, were first published in America. Outside the field of theology, the literary efforts of the colonial period were rarely above the ordinary. The market for books was largely restricted to the libraries of the relatively few well-to-do and to the private circulating libraries which were becoming numerous.

NEWSPAPERS. If we leave out of account *Public Occurrences Both Foreign and Domestic*, which appeared in Boston in 1690 and was soon suppressed by the government of Massachusetts, the first newspaper in America was the *Boston News Letter* founded in 1704. It was 15 years later before the *American Weekly Mercury* came from the press of Andrew Bradford in Philadelphia, but by the end of the colonial period newspapers were published in all of the colonies. Limited to four pages, and containing little more than stale foreign news, advertisements, and a little local material, they were nevertheless welcomed by the news-hungry population.

There had been wide censorship of the press in Europe in the seventeenth century, and the colonial governments attempted to exert a similar control over the newspapers of the eighteenth. Fortunately for America, these early editors fought back. When Peter Zenger, a New York editor, was arrested in 1734 for criticizing the government, there ensued one year later a famous trial which resulted in the acquittal of Zenger and a victory for the freedom of the press.

Perhaps the ablest of the journalists of the colonial days was the Boston-born editor of *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, Benjamin Franklin, who was also founder of one of the earliest magazines published in America. The market for newspapers and magazines was in part dependent upon the development of an efficient postal system. In 1753 Franklin himself was appointed one of the two postmaster-generals in charge of most of the American colonies, and in the two decades preceding the Revolution, he did much to develop an efficient postal service.

8. Transit of Civilization. As we survey American culture in the colonial period, we recognize that it is a civilization transplanted from Europe, chiefly from England, Ireland and Germany. Because of the fact that the great majority of the population came from the British Isles and because England established political control, the English language, folkways, legal system and political traditions predominated in America. However, at every point and from the very beginning, this European civilization was being modified by the pressure of American conditions, by the influence of new ways of living and the problems of a new land. The transit of civilization from Europe to America continued

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throughout this period, as it has in all subsequent eras, but the careful student finds it modified in many ways. He finds changes in our legal codes, our political machinery and our manner of life. An American civilization distinct from that of Europe was rapidly evolving.

Can You Use These Terms?

A. Underscore the phrases or expressions that correctly complete the following statements. There may be more than one correct response to a statement.

1. Indentured servants: (a) were slaves who were forced to give a lifetime of labor; (b) were immigrants who agreed to work for a term of years to pay for the cost of their passage from abroad; (c) furnished a very important source of labor in the colonies.
2. In colonial America, an aristocracy or wealthy class: (a) did not develop; (b) appeared among the large landholders of the South; (c) was created among the merchants and shipping families of the coastal towns.
3. A theocracy is: (a) an institution where members of the clergy are trained; (b) a political government controlled by a religious denomination; (c) a government controlled by landowners.

Do You Know the Facts?

B. Underscore the phrases or expressions that correctly complete the following statements. There may be more than one correct answer to a statement.

1. Population in the American colonies doubled every twenty-five years because: (a) of immigration and the need for large families to supply farm labor; (b) there was ample land and no fear of poverty; (c) the many factories provided ample opportunity for employment.
2. A large class of wage earners did not appear in the colonies because: (a) land was easy to get; (b) labor was provided by slaves, or by indentured servants who bound themselves out for a term of years; (c) there were no factories.
3. Inoculation was used effectively in colonial America in the 1700's to check the spread of: (a) typhoid fever; (b) smallpox; (c) yellow fever.
4. In New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania colonial dwellings: (a) generally followed one style; (b) were of many types because the settlers came from New England, Holland and other places; (c) usually were modeled after the Georgian style.
5. In colonial times recreation was: (a) unknown because current religious beliefs frowned upon any form of pleasure; (b) provided by corn-huskings, house raisings and similar occasions where neighbors came to assist their friends; (c) in many respects much like recreation today.

6. Elementary education in colonial times: (a) was carried on by church schools in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania; (b) generally was limited to those who could pay in the southern colonies; (c) was provided for at public expense in Massachusetts to strengthen the Puritan religious beliefs.
7. By about the time of the American Revolution there were in the colonies: (a) only two colleges; (b) nine colleges; (c) more than twenty colleges.
8. Colonial educational facilities: (a) provided an unusually high educational level for practically all of the people; (b) failed to provide for a large proportion of the population; (c) was largely controlled by religious groups.
9. The church that dominated the government in Massachusetts in colonial days was the: (a) Anglican Church or Church of England; (b) Puritan or Congregational Church; (c) Presbyterian Church.
10. American literature in colonial times was confined largely to: (a) novels about pioneer life; (b) newspapers; (c) histories and religious topics.
11. In colonial days newspapers: (a) were few in number; (b) were sometimes subjected to severe censorship by the colonial governments; (c) generally were imported from England because none was printed in the colonies.

Can You Use What You Have Learned?

GENERALIZATION: An American Civilization Distinct from That of Europe Rapidly Evolved in the American Colonies.

C. Below are a number of statements. If the statement supports the generalization given above, circle the letter **Y** *(yes). Circle the letter* **N** *(no) if it does not support the generalization.*

1. **Y N** The English language was established in the colonies because most of the population came from England.
2. **Y N** The presence of large numbers of people from other countries than England modified the English language in America.
3. **Y N** The conditions of frontier life and the problems presented by this environment brought modifications in many ways and habits.
4. **Y N** A diversity of religious denominations in the Middle Colonies encouraged development of religious tolerance.
5. **Y N** Religion occupied an important place in the lives of the colonists.
6. **Y N** The first colonial newspaper was the *Boston News Letter.*
7. **Y N** Because land was easy to obtain in early America, the greater proportion of the colonists was comparatively well-off and economically independent.

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Summarizing Exercise

D. Match the following items in the right-hand column with their proper choices in the left-hand column. To do this insert the number or numbers of choices in the parentheses in front of the proper item or items.

CHOICES

1. Art
2. Journalism
3. Religious Literature
4. Elementary Education
5. Collegiate Education

ITEMS

a. (   ) Peter Zenger
b. (   ) Gilbert Stuart
c. (   ) John Singleton Copley
d. (   ) John Harvard
e. (   ) Benjamin Franklin
f. (   ) Benjamin West
g. (   ) Massachusetts school law of 1647
h. (   ) Jonathan Edwards
i. (   ) Cotton Mather
j. (   ) *American Weekly Mercury*

Correspondence or Class Assignments

E. See general instructions under this heading, p. vi.

1. State three ways in which colonial life has influenced America today. Describe fully the manner in which *one* of these three ways influences us today.
2. Give an account of American culture in colonial times touching upon: (a) art and architecture; (b) literature; (c) education.

Suggested Readings

Textbooks:

Some good general accounts of colonial cultural life are: J. T. Adams, *The Epic of America*, chaps. i, ii; J. S. Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, chap. vii; H. W. Elson, *History of the United States of America*, pp. 178-91; and H. U. Faulkner, *American Political and Social History*, chap. iii. A fuller treatment is C. M. Andrews, *Colonial Folkways*.

Historical Novels:

Social life and times in the colonies are described in: N. Hawthorne, *The House of Seven Gables*, a story of old Salem and the decline of a once proud family; *The Scarlet Letter*, a masterpiece devoted to the theme of Puritan moral standards; *Twice Told Tales*, vivid stories of colonial Massachusetts. B. M. Dix, *The Making of Christopher Ferringham*, creates again the atmosphere of early colonial times.

CHAPTER II

The Rise of the Common Man

THE COMING OF THE MACHINE REVOLUTIONIZES MAN'S WAY OF LIVING

1. **Development of Urban Life.** The character of life in the colonial period and in the early years of the Republic, as we noted in the last chapter, was predominantly rural. However, the coming of the Industrial Revolution quickly altered this. The census of 1860 showed 141 towns of over 8000, comprising 16.1 per cent of the population. At that date, New York City had a population of 1,175,000; Philadelphia 565,000; and Baltimore, over 200,000.

Other factors besides the factory system, of course, contributed to the growth of American cities and to the importance of certain centers. New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore became great metropolitan centers partly because of their harbor facilities through which the agricultural products of the West were exported. The success of the Erie Canal put New York far in the lead, but Philadelphia and Baltimore also built canals to save their western trade, and all three constructed competing railroads to maintain their position. Other seaport towns, notably Boston, whose commercial importance had declined during the canal era, were able to recover in part their earlier position by means of railroads. It was the Industrial Revolution which saved New England. Around Boston there developed a crescent of textile, leather, and metal towns; while other colonial New England villages, such as Providence, New London, Hartford, and New Haven, grew into thriving cities on the basis of manufacturing.

2. **Life in the Cities.** With the rapid growth of urban life came inventions and improvements in the art of living. After the 'twenties, candles as a means of lighting slowly gave way to oil, and in the larger cities to gas. Street lighting by gas was adopted in Boston in 1822, and after that in other large cities. Beginning with Benjamin Franklin, a great number of American inventors had devoted themselves to the development of a stove for cooking and heating. Throughout the Northeast fireplaces were gradually bricked up and stoves substituted, until by 1860 the manufacture of stoves was one of the important iron industries. This

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adoption and manufacture of stoves was greatly advanced by the increasing use of anthracite coal in the cities. After practical stoves for room heating had been invented, it was not long before the idea developed of furnishing heat for the house from the cellar; successful furnaces for indirect heating were on the market by 1850.

A more pressing problem than heating was that of water supply. Until well into the nineteenth century, city dwellers got their water from private pumps or from community pumps or cisterns scattered throughout the city. In 1799 Philadelphia began pumping water from the Schuylkill to a reservoir and distributing it through log pipes to various parts of the city. This system was improved in 1822 by the opening of the Fairmount Waterworks and by distribution through iron pipes. Other communities followed until by the decade of the 'forties the larger cities were distributing water in this manner.

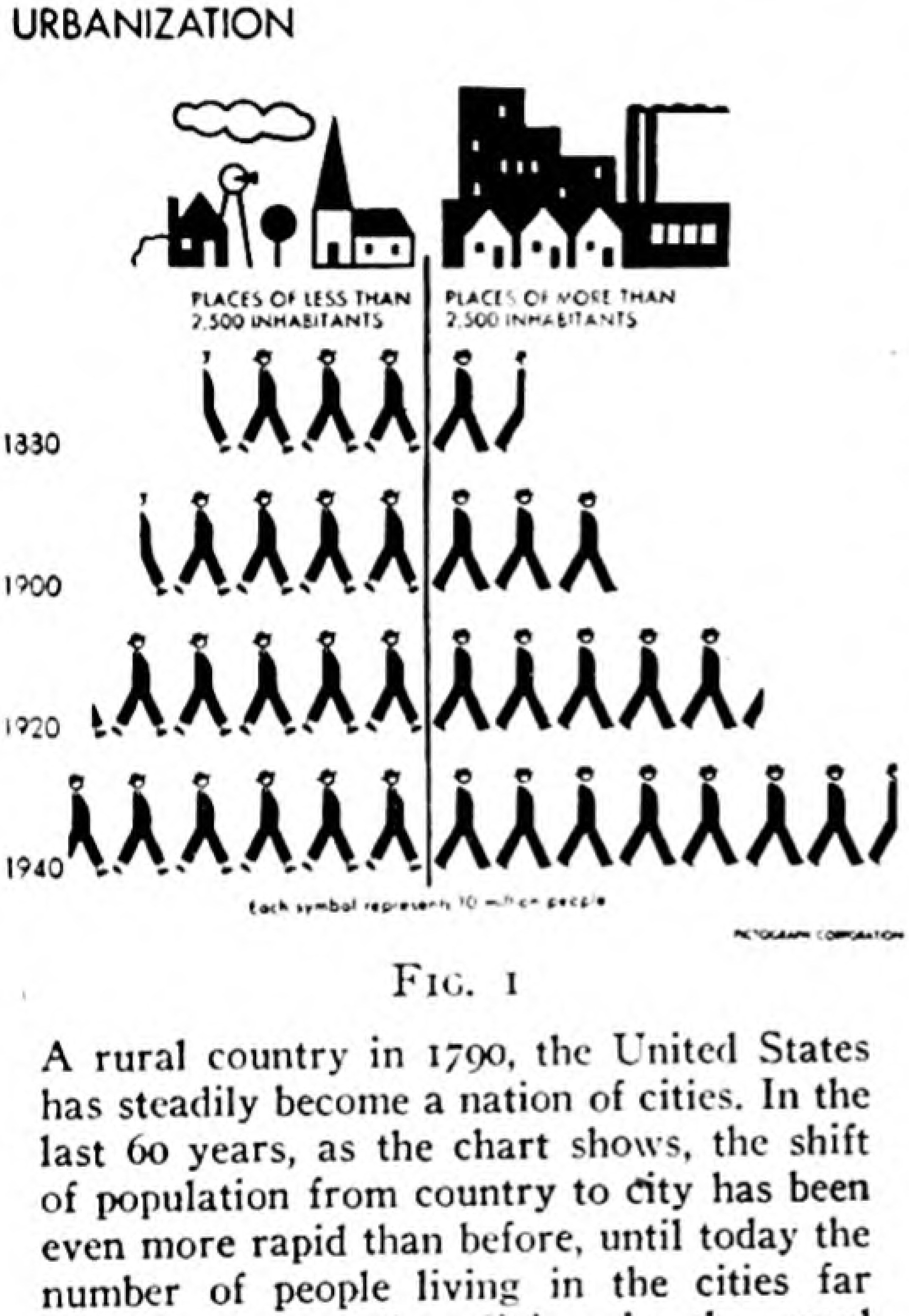

FIG. 1

A rural country in 1790, the United States has steadily become a nation of cities. In the last 60 years, as the chart shows, the shift of population from country to city has been even more rapid than before, until today the number of people living in the cities far exceeds the number living in the rural communities.

The problem of sewage disposal was taken up more slowly and, as a consequence, epidemics of disease were frequent, but by the middle of the century the elementary beginnings of plumbing had appeared. These and other problems were complicated by the rapid growth of the cities. Fortunately the cost of building was amazingly low; a good six-room house could be built for $800, and $2500 secured a town mansion of the finest architectural design.

Along with improvements in the conveniences of life came an advance in providing for public safety. The old night watch which lit the lamps, cried out the hours, and gave alarms for fire, was replaced in the 'forties by organizations of day and night watchmen resembling our modern police force. The inefficient volunteer firemen, who were often more interested in fighting some rival organization than in putting out a fire, were beginning in the 'fifties to give way to regular organized departments with a permanent staff supported by the city. The problem of transportation was met by bus lines. With the coming of the sunken rail in the 'fifties, buses took to tracks, and, until the substitution of electricity in the late 'eighties, city people depended on horse cars to get about.

3. Effect on Rural Life. The rural communities, particularly those regions near the urban centers, soon felt the effect of machine production and the growth of cities. The demand of the city population for food enabled many farmers to advance from the stage of the self-sufficing farm and enter commercial agriculture. This gave the farmer and his wife money with which to buy factory-made articles—stoves for his home; tinware from the peddler to take the place of the heavy iron and copper utensils which had helped make cooking so exhausting; clocks, carpets, and wall paper to decorate his rooms; factory-made textiles for clothing, and agricultural implements for his farm. In this way, household industries declined and the energy of the family was freed for other activities. All this was made possible by the coming of canals and railroads, and by the improvement of the postal service which brought the country folk in closer contact with the city.

The influence of the Industrial Revolution declined as it approached the frontier, where the primitive agriculture and the self-sufficing farm of the earlier decades persisted.

> Until about the year 1850 [said the Twelfth Census, 1900], the bulk of general manufacturing done in the United States was carried on in the shop and the household, by the labor of the family or individual proprietors, with apprentice assistants, as contrasted with the present system of factory labor, compensated by wages, and assisted by power.

THE COMMON MAN MAKES SOCIAL AS WELL AS POLITICAL GAINS

4. Experiments in Socialism. The triumph of the Jacksonian democracy, which climaxed the democratic movement in federal politics, was accompanied by a rapid growth of local political democracy, particularly to be seen in the constitutions of the new frontier states. While these gains were being made in democracy, some interesting experiments were going on in coöperative living. Said Emerson in a letter to Carlyle: "We are all a little wild here with numberless projects of social reform, not a reading man but has a draft of a new community in his waistcoat pocket."

COMMUNITIES—RELIGIOUS AND SECULAR. Communities of religious groups living more or less apart from the rest of the world and practicing ownership in common had been established in the colonial period by the Pennsylvania Germans, and communities of this type have existed during most of our history. The most famous, perhaps, of the religious communities was the Oneida Community of New York, established by John Humphrey Noyes, a Dartmouth graduate and Congregational minister.

Less successful, but more famous than the religious coöperative commonwealths, were those established under secular direction. In 1824, the great English social reformer, Robert Owen, visited the United States to expound his theory that the salvation of mankind was dependent upon the establishment of an improved environment. Purchasing the village of New Harmony, Indiana, with 30,000 acres of land, Owen invited "the industrious and well disposed of all nations" to join him there. The New Harmony experiment failed, but it excited great interest, and at least 11 other communities came into existence at that time.

FOURIERISM. A second wave of interest in socialistic experiments came in the decade of the 'forties, following the explanation by Horace Greeley and Albert Brisbane in the New York *Tribune* of the scheme for coöperative organization advanced by the Frenchman, Charles Fourier. Fourier's scheme was more definite than Owen's. He would organize mankind into groups of from 300 to 1800 people who would live in a large central building which would contain also the workshop and granaries. This central building was to be surrounded by a farm. It was expected that an economic unit largely self-sufficing would thus be established, and that each individual would engage in the type of work he most enjoyed. Fourier believed that a common workshop, granary, and dining hall, with one large farm efficiently managed, would be infinitely more economical than hundreds of little duplications, and that it would result in greater prosperity and happiness. Over 30 of these units were established in various states, the most famous of which was Brook Farm near Boston, where many of the famous literary people of the day coöperated in the experiment. All except the religious communities eventually disappeared, for the inventions of the Industrial Revolution were making it increasingly difficult to set up self-sufficing economic communities.

5. **The Era of Reform.** There were two great periods of reform in American history: the first during the decade of the 'thirties and 'forties, and the second during the first 15 years of the present century. The earlier period was an era of intellectual activity and of idealism, years in which reformers of all kinds offered their pet schemes for the betterment of humanity. We have already discussed the experiments in socialism.

This was also a time when old religions were torn apart by radical prophets and when many new religions flourished and declined. Especially notable was the anti-slavery agitation led by Garrison and Phillips which did so much to bring on the catastrophe of civil war. These were but the most famous of many reforms which kept the nation in a state of ferment. Labor, which had begun to organize, demanded the ten-hour day, the right to organize, and laws to protect their interest. "Land reformers" in the East coöperated with frontiersmen to agitate for free land. Some philanthropists demanded and succeeded in obtaining improved prison conditions; others led by Dorothea Dix agitated for asylums where the insane might be cared for in a more scientific way.

Other reformers criticized the criminal code and succeeded in abolishing imprisonment for debt, in reducing the number of offenses punishable by death, in putting an end to public executions, and in a few states in actually abolishing capital punishment.[1] Samuel G. Howe established near Boston in 1832 the famous Perkins Institution for the Blind, thus laying a foundation for the later efforts to educate the deaf, dumb, and blind. Organized propaganda for peace in America became important with the foundation of the American Peace Society in 1828. Under the leadership of Elihu Burritt, American delegates persuaded the International Peace Conference at Brussels in 1848 to ratify the American proposals for a congress of nations meeting periodically, and the establishment of a high court of arbitration for the adjustment of international disputes.

TEMPERANCE AND PROHIBITION. Another movement strong at this time and destined to be important in later history was that for prohibition. This was a natural reaction against the excessive drinking of the time, and was agitated by numerous local and national temperance organizations. In the 'thirties some of the more aggressive of these organizations went beyond mere temperance and demanded the prohibition of alcoholic drink. Under the leadership of Neal Dow, the legislature of Maine passed the first prohibition law in our history (1846) and, except for two years (1856-58), kept it on the statute books until changed in 1933. So strong was the movement that 13 northern and western states passed legislation in the 'fifties to limit in some degree the sale of spirituous liquors. With the exception of Maine, Vermont and New Hampshire, these laws were repealed and the movement collapsed in the next decade, only to revive in greater strength a half-century later.

6. Women's Rights. Until long after the War between the States, the legal, economic, and political position of women was subordinate to that of men. When a woman married, title to her property passed to her husband. Nowhere had she the right to vote. The girl of the poorer classes was lucky if she learned to read. The young lady from the wealthy home in the days before the war was thought educated if she could sew, dance, and discuss superficially some of the polite literature of the day. Only a few radicals had as yet advocated a similar curriculum in the schools for both boys and girls, a higher education for women, or even attendance of boys and girls at the same school.

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[1] Michigan abolished it in 1847, Rhode Island in 1852, and Wisconsin in 1853.

The agitation for women's rights started with a visit in 1820 of the brilliant young Scotchwoman, Frances Wright, who interested herself in many reforms and advocated them on the platform. As the first woman to deliver public lectures, she painfully shocked the conservatives, but it was an object lesson to women of the possibilities open to them. Soon many came to her support—Margaret Fuller of Massachusetts, Angelina and Sarah Grimké of South Carolina, Mrs. Lucretia Mott, a Quakeress of Philadelphia, and Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton of New York.

When eight American women delegates were refused admittance to a World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London in 1840, Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton pledged themselves to organize a movement especially for the rights of women. They did this eight years later when the first Women's Rights Convention was held, and a "Declaration of Independence" was drawn up which declared that "all men and women were created equal." Thus began a 70-years' battle for the right to vote.

Other women reformers would go even farther. For example, Lucy Stone held that women should have the right to keep their maiden names after marriage. Amelia Jenks Bloomer insisted that the "emancipation of women" was dependent upon a more sensible costume, and she designed an outfit consisting of loose Turkish trousers gathered at the ankle with an elastic band, a short skirt coming half way between the knees and ankles, a short jacket and a straw hat. This "bloomer costume" was much ridiculed, but it was an advance over the absurd hoop skirts and tight corsets of the day.

This women's rights movement began to have its influence on education. Emma Willard opened a seminary for girls at Troy, New York, in 1821, and Mary Lyon established Mount Holyoke Seminary at South Hadley, Massachusetts, in 1837. These early seminaries in no way approached the standard of education in the leading men's colleges, but they were a long step in that direction. To Oberlin College, founded in 1834, goes the honor of admitting both men and women to an institution of higher learning. It was followed by Antioch, founded by Horace Mann in 1853, and soon by the state universities.

THE COMMON MAN MAKES CULTURAL AS WELL AS SOCIAL GAINS

7. Horace Mann and the Public School Movement. Perhaps the most important advance made during the first half of the century was the development of a free, tax-supported school system. American education had sunk to its lowest depths in the days after the Revolution. The demoralization of the war, the breaking up of old communities and the dispersal of the people as the frontier moved westward had brought a decline from the meager standards of the colonial days. Particularly on the frontier were facilities lacking. A one-room log cabin schoolhouse where school was held a few weeks a year, presided over by a half illiterate master who took his pay "boarding around" or even in whisky, was the usual thing; but there was little to be said for education in any part of the country. In the more settled sections the wealthier parents hired private tutors or sent their children to private schools.

Development of Free Schools. The salvation of education was dependent upon the establishment of the free, tax-supported public school. Fortunately, influences were at work to bring this about: (1) the development of urban life made a new system both necessary and possible; (2) the increase of crime and pauperism in the rapidly growing cities, it was believed, might be prevented by universal education; (3) the growth of democracy, which had given the vote to the common man, gave him the means to accomplish the founding of public schools for the education of his children; (4) the possibility in the new states of supporting education from public lands without drawing on the taxpayer did much to help; (5) the belief that in a democracy education should be widespread was the deciding argument to many.

In spite of the obvious need, the movement was bitterly fought by many groups—proprietors of private schools, advocates of education in church schools, large taxpayers, and others. In the end the battle was won; and by 1860 the nation was committed to a public school system, including elementary and high schools, and topped by the state university—all supported by public funds.

Pioneers in Education. The names of many great men are linked with the movement for public schools. In Massachusetts Morace Mann turned his back on a brilliant legal and political career, accepted the newly created position of Secretary of the State Board of Education (1837), and for 12 years devoted his great talents to the work of arousing enthusiasm on the part of the people for better schools. He succeeded in establishing normal schools for the training of teachers, and in welding the local units into a state system.

What Mann did for Massachusetts, Henry Barnard did for Connecticut and Rhode Island. Both men established journals to promote their ideas, of which the *American Journal of Education*, founded by Barnard, was the more famous. When the position of United States Commissioner of Education was established in 1867, Barnard was the first to hold the office. In other sections of the country able leaders, such as Calvin E.

Stowe in Ohio and Caleb Mills in Indiana, did similar work, but the roll is too long to be called.

8. The Day of the Academy and Seminary. Before the public school movement had extended upward to the high school, the nation was widely dotted with academies or seminaries. These schools were sometimes established through gifts of money, sometimes conducted for private gain, and sometimes supported by the various religious denominations. Almost every conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, for example, maintained its seminary. These schools were usually boarding schools, and many were open to both boys and girls. In most cases they did not pretend to fit for college, but sought to build upon the common school and round out the student's education. Over 6000 of these academies were in existence by 1850, and they filled an important place in American education until the coming of the high school, especially in supplying to the lower schools many of the best-educated teachers of the day.

With the coming of the high school, the importance of the academy declined. The real beginning of the American high school goes back to a Massachusetts law of 1827,[1] requiring a high school in every town of 500 families or over where algebra, geometry, bookkeeping, and United States history should be taught. The same law also required a high school in every town of 4000 inhabitants or over where, in addition, Greek, Latin, history, rhetoric, and logic should be taught. Between three and four hundred high schools had been founded by 1860, but the great development was to come after the War between the States.

9. Rise of the Denominational College and the State University. While elementary education lagged in the years following the Revolution, there was much interest in higher education; and to the nine colleges of the colonial period, 15 more had been added by 1800. Washington himself advocated urgently but unsuccessfully a great national university to be established at Washington.

When the Old Northwest was opened to settlement, Congress not only granted one section in each township for schools, but gave to the Ohio Company two townships to found a university, and this formed the original endowment of Ohio University. When Ohio became a state in 1803, Congress likewise granted a township to found Miami University for the settlers around Cincinnati. As each new state was added to the

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[1] In 1821 a new high school for boys, the English Classical School, known after 1824 as the English High School, was organized in Boston for the benefit of those not intending to go to college. This is usually considered as the first public high school in America. The first public high school for girls was the Girl's High School, established in Boston in 1826.

Union, similar grants were made, with the result that 17 state universities had been founded by 1860. A tremendous advance was given to state-controlled higher education by the Morrill Act of 1862, by which the national government gave to each state public land to found mechanical and agricultural schools. These state universities and "land-grant colleges" fittingly capped the structure of free, tax-supported education.

In the meantime, over 200 denominational colleges had been founded by the various religious bodies. The colonial colleges had been established primarily for the training of ministers, and several had been associated with the state. In the years after the Revolution these connections had generally been broken; but in the strong national and democratic years after the War of 1812, the growing democracy sought to bring these colleges again under state control.

However, this movement was halted by the famous decision in the Dartmouth College Case, which is important in educational as well as constitutional history. The Dartmouth decision safeguarded private colleges and thus gave great stimulation to the founding of denominational colleges. It also proved to the new democracy that if undenominational state-controlled colleges were desired, they must be established by the government. That the new democracy intended to have colleges of some kind can be seen in the scores of institutions set up in regions that had not yet passed beyond frontier conditions.

10. Separation of Church and State. One of the most important developments in the United States in the decades after the Revolution was the separation of church and state—important because the American people were the first among the nations to embody this principle in their fundamental law. In the words of one historian, it marks an "epoch in the history of mankind" and is "one of America's greatest contributions to modern religion and politics." The most important cause of the separation of church and state was growth in the colonies of religious opinions different from those of the state church. As long as state churches supported by law and compulsory taxation existed (as they did in New England, except Rhode Island, and in the South), the dissenting groups were reluctantly tolerated. However, adherents of the Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, Catholic and other churches were becoming too numerous to be kept long in a subordinate position.

The new state constitutions drawn up during the Revolution usually liberalized the provisions regarding religion. Maryland, for example, went so far at this time as to abandon a state church. In Virginia the battle went on for ten years before church and state were separated in 1785 through the influence of such men as Madison and Jefferson. In one way or another the same end was accomplished in the other southern states. The New England states followed more slowly, Massachusetts, the last in line, delaying until 1833 before finally separating her government from the church. In that year compulsory taxation for church support was abolished, and the towns were relieved from any responsibility for church affairs.

As the years went by, the new western states followed the trend of the more liberal eastern constitutions. In the meantime, the First Amendment to the Constitution prohibited the federal government from creating a state church. Although separation of church and state was accomplished, religious tests for office holding, such as a belief in God or a Supreme Being, continued, and are today found in some state constitutions.

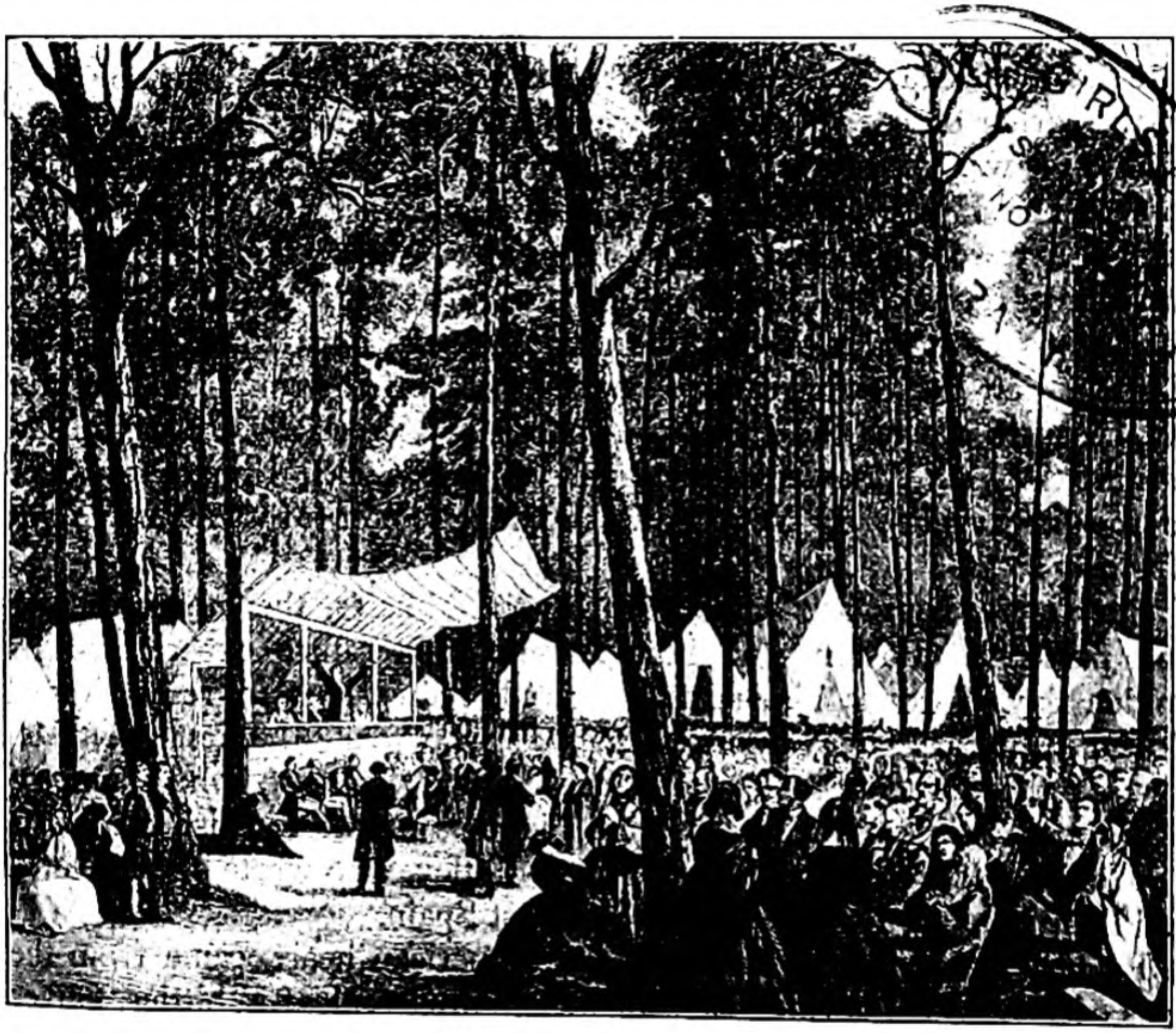
11. **Frontier Religion.** One of the many causes which influenced migration to the West was discontent with the religious situation in the eastern states, and the same dissenting denominations which helped to separate church and state in the East were strongest on the frontier. All of the eastern denominations sent their "home missionaries" to the frontier in an effort to take care of the frontiersman—too poor, too scattered, and too occupied with hardship and danger to provide for his own religious needs.

The most successful were the Presbyterians, the Baptists, and the Methodists, whose ministers rode from one group of settlers to another praying, pleading, and preaching wherever the opportunity offered. The Methodist Church successfully divided the country into circuits, upon each of which was placed a rider who preached in the various communities as often as he could make his rounds. In this way the maximum religious stimulation was provided at the minimum cost by hundreds of noble men who braved every danger in their ordinary round of duty. The saintly Bishop Asbury, it is estimated, traveled over 270,000 miles—most of it on horseback in frontier regions—preached more than 16,000 sermons, and ordained over 4000 Methodist ministers. The scarcity of ministers and churches led quite naturally to one feature of frontier religion, the camp meeting. Thousands would often gather from miles around to camp in the open and listen for several days to preachers urging them to repentance and to a better way of life.

12. **New Religions.** The awakening of men's minds in this period brought new religions into being. Hardly a New England town but was affected by Unitarianism which split the old Congregational Church—the dominant religion of this region for almost two centuries. Dissenters from the Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist denominations likewise broke away to organize new churches. From Ireland to the American frontier came Alexander Campbell in 1809, to gather many into a new and strong church whose followers were known as Campbellites and

whose organization was known as the Christian Church. Curious manifestations of religion appeared: one prophet predicted the end of the world upon a certain day in 1843 and his followers, the Millerites, disposed of their worldly goods in preparation for the expected end.

THE MORMONS. The Mormon Church, responsible for the establishment of a new American state, was one of the most important of the new churches. Joseph Smith declared he had discovered, near Palmyra, New York, two golden plates on which were inscribed certain religious teachings. Making use of these, he wrote a Bible and founded a religion which soon had thousands of converts in Europe and America. The headquarters were moved to Ohio, then to Missouri, and finally back to Illinois, where his followers established a prosperous community at Nauvoo. Dislike of their practice of allowing a man to have several wives,



Camp Meeting of the 'Fifties

A camp meeting at Sing Sing, New York, as pictured in *Harper's Weekly*, September 10, 1859. This drawing of a camp meeting within a few miles of New York makes it evident that these huge outdoor religious gatherings were not confined to the frontier West.

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14. Newspapers for the Masses. The decade of the 'thirties was important in American journalism, for during these years the price of the daily paper was reduced so low as to bring it within the range of the masses, and the more prosperous newspapers began to take on the characteristics of the modern daily. After several dailies had failed in an effort to support their paper by selling it at one cent a copy, the New York *Sun* not only succeeded, but became the first of the modern newspapers. Instead of filling its columns with stale news from Europe and the abusive political ravings of its editors, it made an effort to publish live and interesting accounts of local happenings. More successful than the *Sun* was the New York *Herald*, founded in 1835 by James Gordon Bennett. Bennett was the first to print financial news, to discuss the theaters, and to report the social life of the city.

While the newspaper was changing in appearance, the number of dailies increased from 27 in 1810 to almost 400 in 1860. Fortunately, this expansion was influenced by some of our greatest editors. William Cullen Bryant, the poet, became editor of the New York *Evening Post* in 1828. Horace Greeley in 1841 founded *The Tribune*, destined to become the most influential newspaper in the country; and in 1851 the New York *Times* was established under the direction of Henry J. Raymond. Famous newspapers and able editors also appeared in the rising cities of the Middle West. Improvements in printing machinery soon followed, and it was not long before the daily newspaper afforded the chief reading matter for the average citizen, thus exerting a most important influence upon intellectual life.

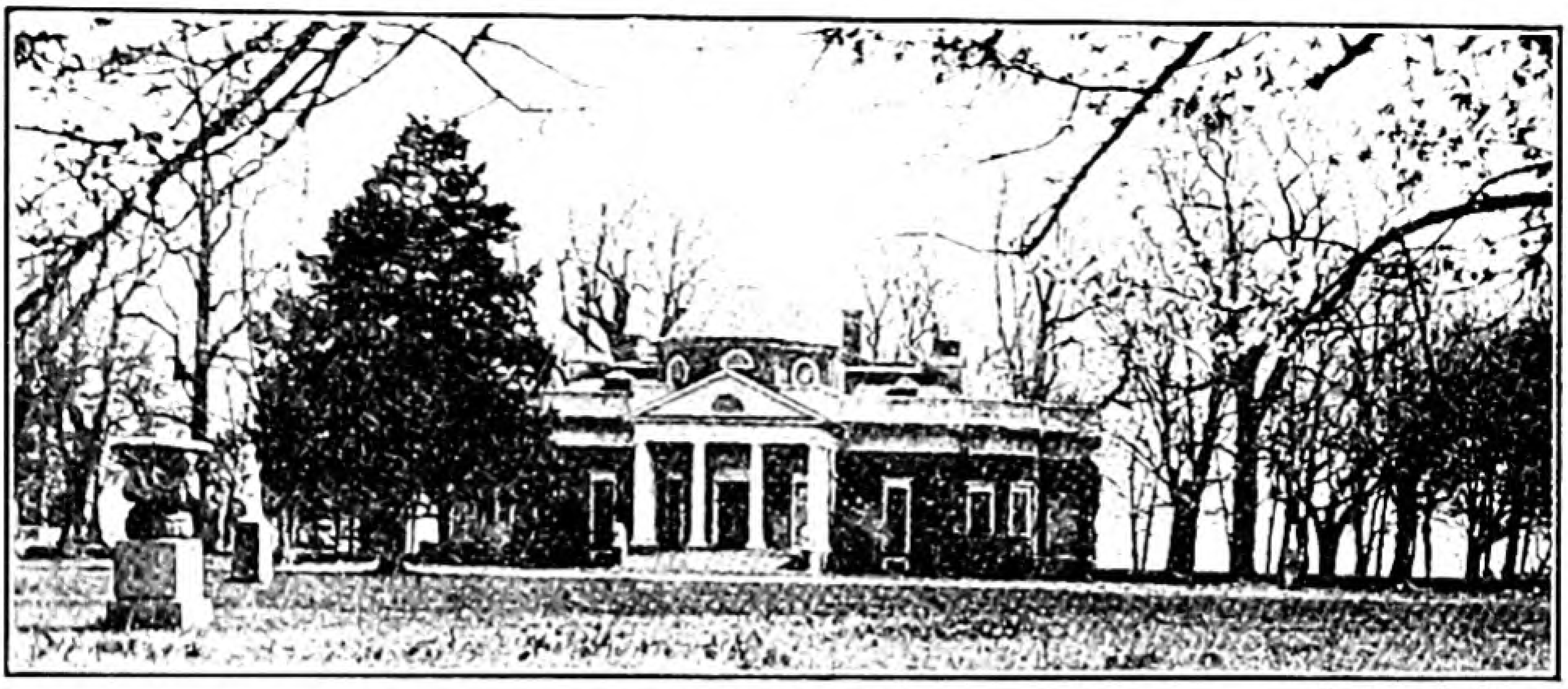
15. Homes in the Nineteenth Century. Although Americans painted few pictures and chiseled few statues in these early decades, they built houses with great rapidity. While the influence of environment continued the log cabin on the frontier, and the lack of wealth kept the typical dwelling simple and unadorned, the more populated and wealthy sections showed the influence of Europe. Buildings with Greek and Roman columns began to dot the landscape in America. Some of this adaptation, as in the central portion of the Capitol at Washington or in the State House at Boston, was successful and effective; much of it, as exemplified in private dwellings, seemed out of place in the American landscape and hardly fitted the needs of the American family. Following the "Greek revival" came a "Gothic revival" stimulated by the medieval romances of Sir Walter Scott and other novelists. The Gothic structures, reminiscent of medieval castles, were hardly more adaptable to American needs than Greek temples, but they gave an interesting variety to American architecture. Speaking broadly, the people of this period were not so successful as their colonial forefathers in creating useful and artistic buildings.

16. Science and Medicine. While art languished and architecture turned back to earlier models, in the field of science and medicine America made important contributions. We have already noted the work of such men as Fitch, Stevens and Fulton in adapting the steam engine to purposes of transportation, and of such inventors of agricultural machinery as Hussey and McCormick. We have mentioned experiments in scientific agriculture and some famous inventions in the field of industry. Finally, we should not forget the invention of the telegraph in the 'thirties by Samuel F. B. Morse and its later use in the first transatlantic cable, laid in 1866 by Cyrus Field, after repeated failures.

American scientists were essentially practical and concerned with immediate results. Nevertheless, experimental and theoretical science was making a place for itself. Under the inspiration of Benjamin Franklin and Benjamin Rush, Philadelphia had become the scientific center of America by the opening of the nineteenth century, and here had been founded in 1743 the American Philosophical Society, the first of the great learned societies in America. As the number of colleges increased, opportunity was given for scientists to teach and experiment. Some famous immigrants like Joseph Priestly, discoverer of oxygen, came to America to fill these posts, but most of the work was carried on by native Americans. State and federal governments made their contributions by surveying the geological resources; the federal government, in particular, supported many expeditions.

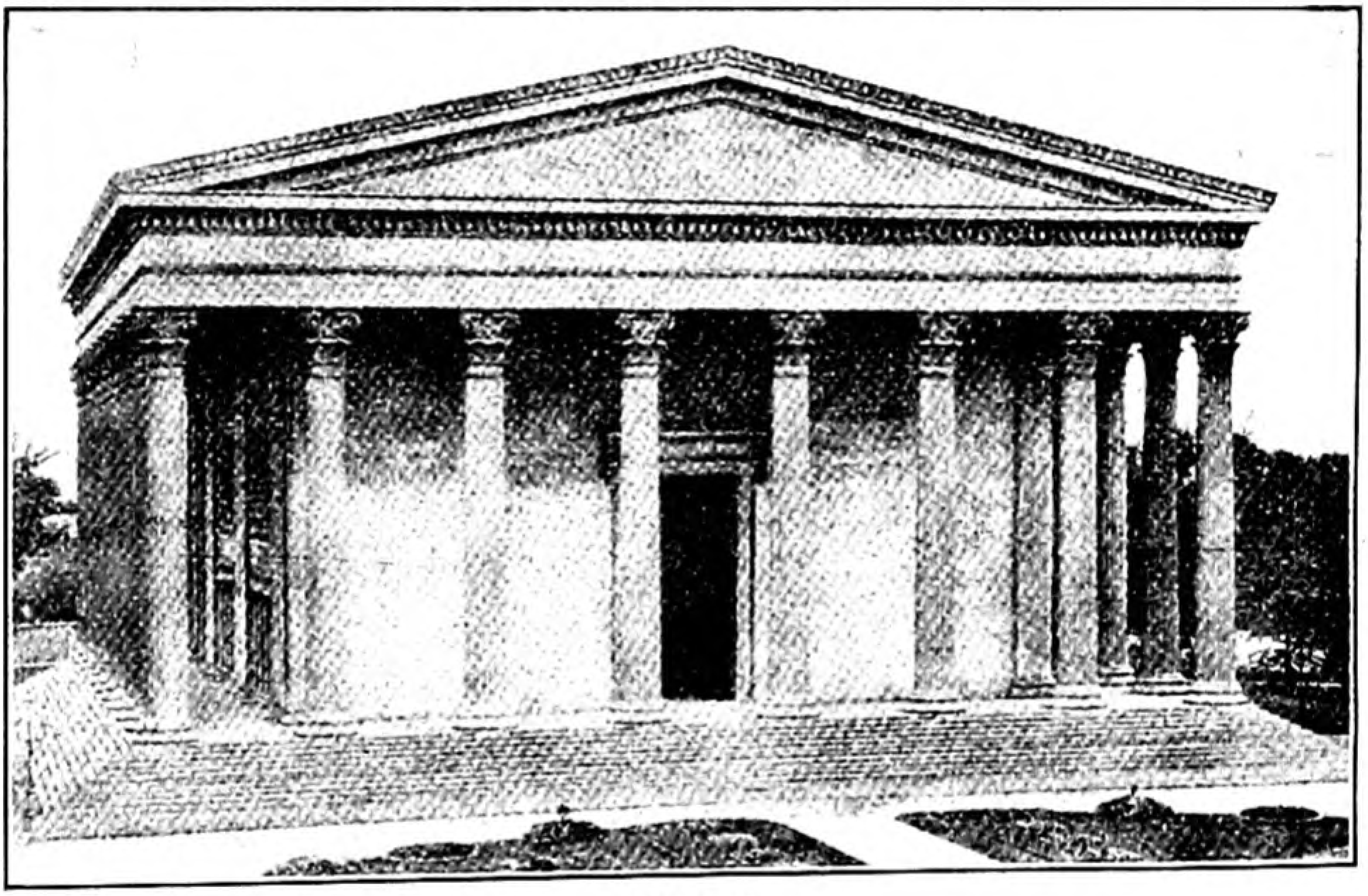
With the possible exception of chemistry, geology was the science which aroused the most interest; and it was to this field that Louis Agassiz, described as "the most influential immigrant since Hamilton and Gallatin," devoted his talents through the medium of a professorship at Harvard. Unexpected stimulation to the whole field of science came in 1829 in the bequest of the Englishman, James Smithson, of the immense sum—for those days—of over $500,000 to the United States for the foundation of an establishment for the "increase and diffusion of knowledge among men." Chartered by Congress in 1846 as the Smithsonian Institution and generously aided by government money, it became an important center of scientific research.

ANÆSTHETICS. America's greatest contribution in the field of medicine before the War between the States was in anæsthetics. A Hartford dentist, Dr. Horace Wells, demonstrated in 1844 that nitrous oxide gas might be used as an anæsthetic to deaden pain. Two years earlier, a Georgia physician, Dr. Crawford W. Long, had successfully experimented with ether. However, it was not until a Boston dentist, Dr. W.



Ewing Galloway

ROMAN



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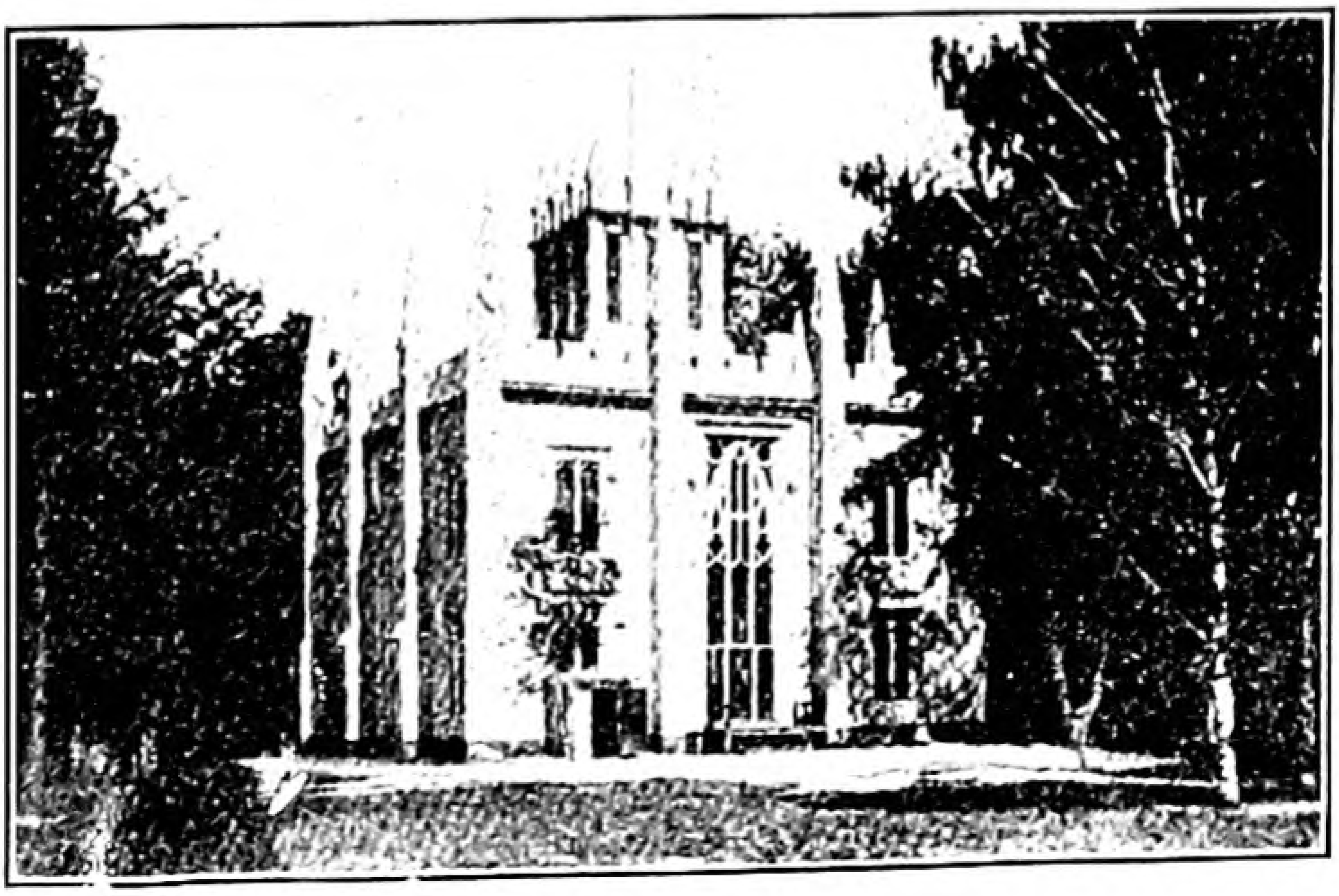


T. G. Morton, first publicly demonstrated in 1846 the practical use of ether as an anæsthetic that the possibilities of the discovery dawned upon the world. The American nation might be an infant in years, but in the fields of practical and theoretical science she was growing rapidly.

17. A Glance Backward. Historians have called the first half of the nineteenth century a period of the "Rise of the Common Man." It is an apt title. We have seen how the average citizen gradually obtained the right to vote and participate in political affairs, and how, with that as a stepping stone, he pushed onward to demand educational opportunities, greater economic opportunities and humanitarian reforms of many kinds. We have seen how this great struggle upward reached a high point in a golden era of American literature and important scientific discoveries. The many reforms advocated in these live and virile years by innumerable agitators have led some to call it the "hot-air period" of American history. Doubtless there were many cranks and false prophets, but this was also the era of Melville, Hawthorne, Thoreau, Emerson, Webster and Lincoln—to name but a few of the many genuises who were molding American life. It was an age of high idealism, humanitarianism and reform. It is one of the tragedies of our history that so much of this energy was eventually drawn off into the slavery controversy which ended in the terrible catastrophe of the War between the States.

Can You Use These Terms?

A. Underscore the phrases or expressions that correctly complete the following statements. There may be more than one correct response to a statement.

1. An urban community is a: (a) rural area; (b) village with less than 2500 inhabitants; (c) large town or city.
2. A circuit rider in frontier days was usually a: (a) traveling missionary or preacher; (b) judge who traveled from village to village to preside at trials; (c) rancher who drove his cattle to the markets.
3. The traveling preachers of frontier times: (a) often were sent by denominational groups in the East; (b) totaled into the hundreds;

IMPORTED ARCHITECTURE (*opposite page*)

(Top) An early example of the Roman revival with pillars and rounded dome. Jefferson's beautiful home at Monticello, Albermarle County, Virginia, which he designed himself and built in the years after 1769. It was dedicated as a national shrine, December 1, 1926. (Middle) The main building of Girard College, Philadelphia, completed (1847) in the form of a Greek Corinthian temple. Stephen Girard (1750-1831) was born in France, but became the leading Philadelphia shipmaster and banker. The larger part of his fortune he left to found an institution for the vocational education of "poor white male orphans." (Bottom) Built in 1835 at Northampton, Massachusetts, for a young ladies' seminary, this building was later used in succession as a private school for boys, by the Clarke School for the Deaf, as a Medical Home for Invalids and finally by St. Michael's Parochial School.

(c) frequently preached to people from miles around at the camp meetings.

4. A state church in earlier America was: (a) recognized by law as the official church: (b) supported out of public funds: (c) upheld by dissenters.
5. Materialism is: (a) a belief that physical things are by far the most important; (b) the opposite of a belief in idealism; (c) often concerned solely with food, clothing and shelter.

Do You Know the Facts?

B. Underscore the phrases or expressions that correctly complete the following statements. There may be more than one correct response to a statement.

1. During the years from about 1800 to 1860: (a) our population remained largely rural; (b) towns and cities grew in number and in population; (c) nearly one-half of the population moved from the rural areas into towns and cities.
2. In the United States in 1940: (a) the majority of the population lived in rural areas or in places of less than 2500 inhabitants; (b) population was evenly divided between rural and urban areas; (c) more people lived in urban communities than in rural areas.
3. Among notable improvements in the cities during the first half of the 1800's was: (a) the development of community water supply systems; (b) the use of electricity for lighting purposes; (c) the establishment of paid police and fire departments.
4. As a consequence of the growth of city populations, American farmers: (a) were able to take up commercial agriculture and sell their produce; (b) had cash with which to purchase manufactured goods; (c) became less dependent upon themselves.
5. Between 1800 and 1860: (a) a number of attempts were made to establish economically independent communities; (b) humanitarian reform movements grew; (c) the public school movement made little or no progress.
6. The high school: (a) replaced the academies and seminaries; (b) grew rather slowly until after the War between the States; (c) first was required by law in Massachusetts.
7. The state universities and agricultural colleges which grew in number during the 1800's: (a) received no support from the federal government; (b) were provided for by grants of land from the federal government; (c) ended the growth of denominational colleges.
8. Separation of government and religion: (a) developed most rapidly in colonies where there were many religious denominations; (b) was accomplished throughout the nation when Amendment I was added to the Constitution; (c) was not achieved in Massachusetts until the 1830's.
9. Among the many newer religious denominations that appeared in the

earlier 1800's were the: (a) Unitarians; (b) Methodists; (c) Mormons.

10. A genuine literature first developed in America in: (a) colonial days; (b) the mid-1800's; (c) the early 1900's.
11. American newspapers came of age in the: (a) 1830's; (b) 1860's; (c) 1890's.
12. Our architecture during the 1800's: (a) developed a new and distinctly American style; (b) tended to follow European styles for public buildings and homes of wealthy people; (c) developed little that was new or distinctly American in design.

C. Match the following items in the right-hand column with the proper choices in the left-hand column. To do this, insert the number or numbers of choices in the parentheses in front of the item or items. Indicate the best choice only for each item.

CHOICES

1. Humanitarian Movement
2. Women's Rights
3. Education
4. Literature
5. Science and Invention
6. Newspapers

ITEMS

a. ( ) Emma Willard
b. ( ) Samuel G. Howe
c. ( ) Washington Irving
d. ( ) Brook Farm
e. ( ) Dorothea Dix
f. ( ) Henry Barnard
g. ( ) James Smithson
h. ( ) James Russell Lowell
i. ( ) Louis Agassiz
j. ( ) Horace Mann
k. ( ) Elizabeth Cady Stanton
l. ( ) Horace Greeley
m. ( ) Ralph Waldo Emerson
n. ( ) Edgar Allan Poe
o. ( ) Samuel F. B. Morse
p. ( ) W. T. G. Morton

Can You Use What You Have Learned?

D. Below are a number of statements pertaining to "The Rise of Common Man" during the first half of the nineteenth century. These statements are arranged in groups. Place the letter **C** *in the parentheses in front of the item that was a cause and the letter* **E** *in the parentheses in front of the item that was an effect in each group of items.*

1. ( ) The Industrial Revolution developed rapidly in the United States in the 1800's.
   ( ) The census of 1860 showed that 16.1 per cent of the population lived in urban areas.

(   ) New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore became important trade centers.

2. (   ) Canals and railroads provided means to transport heavy products.

(   ) Cities and towns grew up at junction and terminal points.

3. (   ) Epidemics were fairly common in American cities during the earlier 1800's.

(   ) Adequate water supply and sewerage disposal systems were lacking in many cities until about 1850.

4. (   ) Some rural areas were brought into closer contact with cities.

(   ) Transportation and communication were improved.

5. (   ) The Machine Age produced ever-increasing specialization.

(   ) Economic self-sufficiency tended to disappear.

6. (   ) The movement for women's rights began in the 1820's.

(   ) Higher education for women began.

7. (   ) The movement for free public schools made rapid headway.

(   ) There was a marked increase in urban population during the earlier 1800's.

8. (   ) Many people felt that education was necessary to preserve democracy.

(   ) Free public education made great gains.

(   ) Educational facilities could be provided in many states by means of land grants.

9. (   ) Denominational colleges and state universities grew in number.

(   ) The decision in the Dartmouth College Case safeguarded private endowments and the federal government adopted a liberal land policy in the interests of higher education.

10. (   ) Colonial religious views were diverse and there were several denominations represented.

(   ) The state church, as an American institution, gradually disappeared.

Summarizing Exercise

E. Cross out the name in each group that is not properly associated with other names in the group.

1. (a) James Gordon Bennett; (b) William Cullen Bryant; (c) Ralph Waldo Emerson; (d) Horace Greeley; (e) Henry J. Raymond.
2. (a) Samuel G. Howe; (b) Elihu Burritt; (c) Dorothea Dix; (d) Neal Dow; (e) Henry David Thoreau.
3. (a) Betsy Ross; (b) Elizabeth Cady Stanton; (c) Lucretia Mott; (d) Lucy Stone.
4. (a) Henry Barnard; (b) Calvin E. Stowe; (c) Horace Mann; (d) John Greenleaf Whittier; (e) Caleb Mills.
5. (a) William Cullen Bryant; (b) Brigham Young; (c) Oliver Wendell Holmes; (d) Edgar Allan Poe; (e) Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

6. (a) Louis Agassiz; (b) Joseph Smith; (c) Joseph Priestly; (d) Samuel F. B. Morse; (e) Benjamin Rush.

Correspondence or Class Assignments

F. *See general instructions under this heading, p. vi.*

1. Describe how the growth in size and number of towns and cities in the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century influenced each of the following: (a) the American farmer; (b) interest in public health; (c) elementary education.
2. Give an account of the great reform movement of the 1830's and 1840's touching upon: (a) reasons why reform movements of various kinds appeared at this time; (b) the work of leading reformers; (c) attitude of the public toward such movements.
3. The mid-1800's is given as the date for our "Golden Age" of literature. Tell why this period has been so-called, touching upon: (a) five literary figures of this period; (b) the influence of three of these writers upon the times in which they lived; and (c) your reasons for agreeing or disagreeing with the choice of the 1850's as our literary "Golden Age."

Suggested Readings

Textbooks:

For some general readings concerned with the "Rise of Common Man" consult J. T. Adams, *The Epic of America*, chap. vii; J. S. Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, chap. xxii; C. A. Beard and M. R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, I, chaps. xiv, xvi; and H. U. Faulkner, *American Economic History*, chap. xv and *American Political and Social History*, chaps. xiii-xvi. For special aspects of this development try: S. P. Orth, *Our Foreigners*, chap. iv, which tells of the search for better living conditions; E. E. Slosson, *The American Spirit in Education*, for an account of the rise of free, public education; and B. Perry, *The American Spirit in Literature*, chaps. v-vii, for a discussion of our literary "Golden Age." Consult H. E. Sigerist, *American Medicine*, chaps. i-iv, for an account of the development of American medical science.

Biographies:

For some of the leaders in these various movements, consult the last three books mentioned above.

Historical Novels:

Life in the earlier 1800's in New York's Mohawk Valley is described in W. D. Edmonds, *Big Barn* and *Rome Haul*. E. Eggleston, *The Circuit Rider*, is the story of a Methodist circuit preacher in Ohio. The story of the New Harmony experiment is told in C. D. Snedeker, *The Town of the Fearless*.

CHAPTER III

The Gilded Age

GREAT VARIATIONS ARE FOUND IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

1. The Turn of the Century. Never has American civilization presented such a varied and colorful aspect as in the latter decades of the nineteenth century. While millions of immigrants descended upon our shores to enter quickly into the life of the nation, other millions were pressing westward to complete the conquest of a continent. Business geniuses and daring speculators who had pushed to the top of the heap in the scramble for the nation's resources were erecting palaces in the cities. From their offices they directed their realms of iron, beef, railroads, or oil, and their hordes of workmen, as the former noble had exercised his sway over broad lands and toiling peasants. At the bottom were the newly arrived immigrants, huddled in the slums of the rapidly growing cities, manning the factories and doing the rough work of the nation. In between was the middle class—older American stock or the second generation of immigrants—doing the clerical work, conducting small business enterprises and carrying on the professions.

The results of an unrestrained struggle for wealth had become apparent—a civilization of millionaires at the top and of tramps at the bottom, of palaces at one extreme and slum tenements or prairie sod houses at the other. It was a period of discontent and radical political parties, but it was a stimulating and exciting era.

The urge for reform, which had been so strong in the 'forties and 'fifties and had played itself out in the War between the States, had begun to revive. The masses were still hopeful of a better day and in particular were straining every effort to enlarge and improve the system of public education. Intellectual and artistic life was also reviving rapidly as hundreds of American students flocked to Europe to finish their training in art and music or perfect themselves in the technique of scientific research. America was laying the foundations for a new era of social and political reform and preparing herself for a new outburst of scientific and artistic endeavor.

2. The Farmer. In spite of the rapid development of the Industrial Revolution and the rapid extension of urban life, the United States as late as 1900 was still primarily an agricultural nation. More than half of the people were living on farms or villages supported by agriculture; over a third of those gainfully employed gave agriculture as their occupation, and over 60 per cent of our exports were products of the farm. Even in the urbanized sections of the Northeast and the North Central states agriculture was important. Everywhere the self-sufficing farm was rapidly disappearing as the farmers turned to commercial agriculture. Where population was concentrated, farmers specialized in truck farming and dairy products; on the farms of the South and West, they raised cotton or grain for domestic consumption and foreign export.

Different as were the products, there was a sameness about the life, whether the farm was on a rocky hillside of New England or on the broad prairies of the Dakotas. Life was a ceaseless round of hard physical labor from sunrise to sunset—a business of plowing, sowing, harvesting, and caring for livestock as one season followed another. It was an unending combat with uncertain weather, with insect pests which might destroy the crops, and with diseases which might carry off the livestock—all this complicated by the long era of falling prices following the War between the States.

Hard and difficult as the farmer's life might be, there were many compensations. His job, unlike that of the city wage earner, was not dependent upon the uncertainties of business. He was rarely faced by starvation and he usually owned or held title to his land. His years of labor was often rewarded by the knowledge that his land had improved and his family was in a better position to face the future. If he had gone to the New West, he saw people moving in around him, railroads extending their tracks to meet his needs, and the social and cultural opportunities of the region improving. It was a long battle, but by the end of the century a better day seemed at hand.

Nor was the farmer without relief from his toil. The rural church, the Grange, or other farmers' organizations provided social and intellectual stimulation. In the winter the family had time to devote itself to the activities of these organizations, and in the summer months there were outdoor picnics and socials. There was always the trip to town, the annual county fair, and perhaps the occasional circus. Furthermore, the inventions of the Industrial Revolution, particularly the new farm machinery, tended to make life easier.

3. The Urban Dweller. Although there obviously were differences in the wealth of individual farmers, we do not find in the agricultural regions as a general rule the sharply drawn differences in social classes and wealth that we see in the urban communities.

THE TENEMENT DWELLER. At the bottom of the economic scale were the tenement dwellers, comprising the majority of newly arrived immigrants and others who crowded to the cities to man the factories and fill the innumerable unskilled jobs. In all of the cities, large and small, were to be found the slum areas where these people lived—in the larger cities, square miles of brick or wooden buildings unheated and lacking in adequate light, air, and sanitary facilities. High rents caused overcrowding and prepared the way for disease. In short, millions of Americans were living under conditions unfit for human life, conditions often worse than they had left behind in Europe. From these miserable dwellings went forth men, women, and children to work long hours in unsanitary, poorly lighted, and inadequately heated factories, only to receive miserable compensation for their labor. Some brought their work back home where even the smallest children might help.

These poor people, ill-treated by landlord, by factory owner and by many others, nevertheless found some relief in various inexpensive amusements—the cheap show, the dance hall, the saloon, and the amusement park. But above all was the constant hope that in a land of opportunity they or their children might achieve a better day.

THE URBAN MIDDLE CLASS. More typical of American culture during these decades was the life of the middle class—the skilled workman, the small storekeeper or business man, and the great majority of the professional classes, the backbone of any society. Living in single or double houses or in apartments of adequate size, they were able to maintain a decent standard of living and to carry on the customs and ideals of the earlier generations of Americans.

Striving to get ahead financially and to make the best possible appearance, they tended to accept the customs and opinions of the time. Few, like the hard-driven farmers of the West, embraced Populism, or, like many of the city workers, the doctrine of Socialism. It was an age when people made known their economic position by a multitude of household possessions and by showy homes cluttered with a wondrous array of furnishings. These furnishings consisted of heavy draperies on windows and doors, of sturdy walnut or oak furniture often upholstered in horsehair placed about the room and of many-colored carpets tacked to the floor. Portraits of family groups and other conventional pictures enclosed in wide and heavy frames hanging on the wall, a marble-topped table somewhere in the room, and the rest of the space filled with "whatnots" of every description completed the decorations. Such was the middle-class living room of this period.

The women found relief from burdensome domestic duties in church and social affairs, while the men devoted much time to their lodges and clubs, which were rapidly becoming a feature of American life. The more prosperous men were able to gather the family together in the summer for a brief vacation in the mountains or at the seashore. It was a life, conventional to be sure, but demanding hard work and high striving.

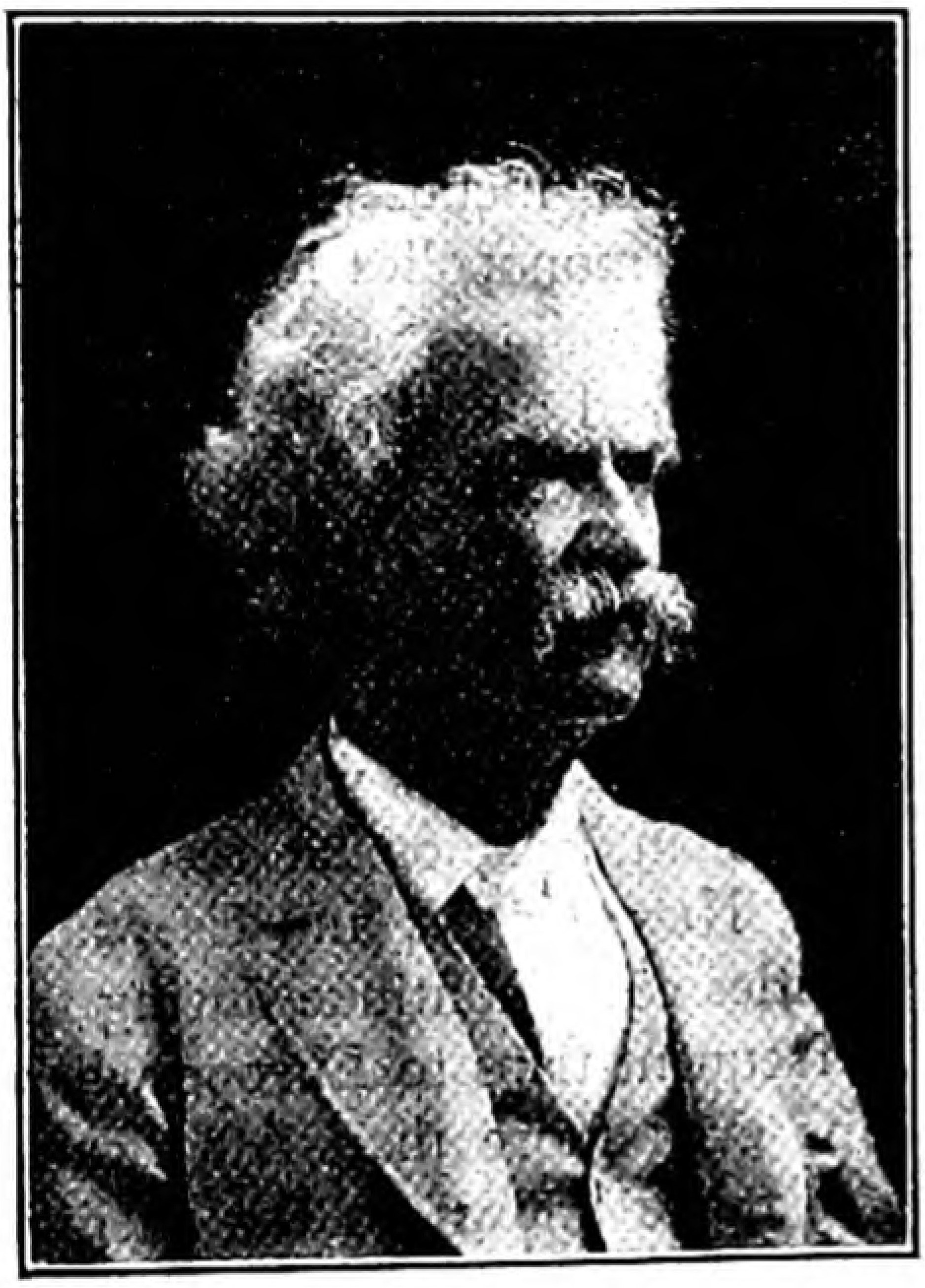
THE NEWLY RICH. At the top of the economic scale were the rich. It is estimated that in 1860 there were only three millionaires in the United States, but that by 1900 there were 3800. One-tenth of the people, it was estimated, owned nine-tenths of the wealth of the nation. This wealth had been accumulated by gaining control of the nation's natural resources—the coal, oil, iron and other metals—by profiting from rising land values, by building up great monopolies in manufacture, or acquiring control of the transportation facilities.

As this wealth had in most cases been obtained quickly, it was often displayed and boastfully shown with a vulgarity typical of the newly rich. Grand palaces in the city and broad estates in the country built in every architectural style known to man set these people apart from their less fortunate neighbors. Lavish parties with a great display of jewelry, with human ingenuity taxed to find new and more useless ways to spend money, astounded and excited the common man. Fashionable resorts at Newport, Rhode Island; at Long Branch, New Jersey; and elsewhere were developed where the round of festivities could continue during the summer, and eventually there began the frequent trips to Europe where the display of wealth amazed Europeans even more than Americans. The doings of this class were of course made known to the average citizen in the sensational newspapers, and they lost nothing in the telling. It was a grand show typical of the "Gilded Age," but in striking contrast to the misery of the millions eking out a bare existence in the tenements of the great cities.

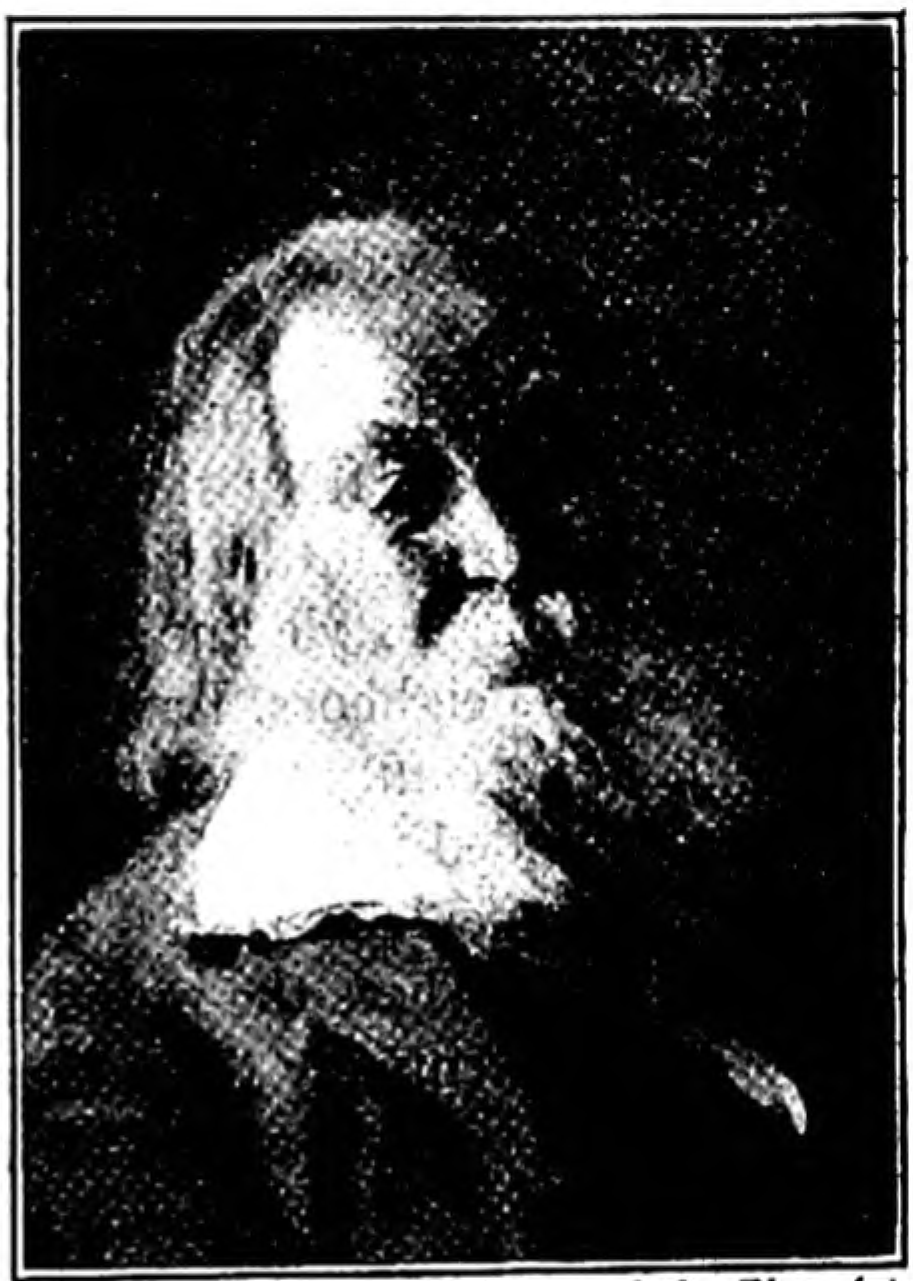
AMERICA SEEKS RELIEF FROM REALITIES IN ROMANTICISM

4. Romanticism Struggles with Realism. While the South worked upward from the chaos and destruction of the War between the States and the western farmer contended with deflation and declining prices, while Americans of all classes engaged in the mad scramble for the untold wealth of the new land, some relief from the harsh realities of the economic battle was found in an effort to revive some aspects of a more romantic age. American painters, trained in the studios of foreign masters, sought escape from hard and exact detail in "impressionism," a method of getting at the real essentials of the subject and producing the effect by suggestion rather than by the elaboration of details. Sculptors turned their talents to a variety of subjects. The slogan, "art for art's sake," was extremely popular—a formula for a deliberate turning of the back upon the realities of life.

LITERATURE. The trend toward romanticism was also seen in literature. The originality of the New England school (*II, 13*) had burnt itself out, and the poetry of the period was of a romantic and, with a few notable exceptions, of a trivial nature.[1] The novelists turned to love and romance, the movement reaching its height at the turn of the century in a tremendous outpouring of historical fiction in which the reader could escape to some far-away time or imaginary land. Some of the best work of the period was done by the "local-color school of fiction" who sought to catch in their stories the rapidly changing life of America as it existed in many sections. Among these writers were Bret Harte, who wrote of



MARK TWAIN



Courtesy Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts

WALT WHITMAN

LITERARY GIANTS OF THE GILDED AGE

Mark Twain (Samuel L. Clemens), greatest of American humorists, has also left for us unforgettable pictures of life on the Mississippi. The photograph was taken in 1907 at the age of 72. The painting of Whitman in his later years is from the brush of Thomas Eakins, who has been described as "the most austere and powerful portraitist and figure painter in America of his time."

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[1] Of the really great poets of the period, one must mention the Southerner, Sidney Lanier; the New England poetess, Emily Dickinson; and, of course, Walt Whitman, who reacted bitterly against the literary production of the time.

the West; Lafcadio Hearn and George W. Cable, who pictured New Orleans; Joel Chandler Harris, who wrote of Negro life; Mary E. Wilkins Freeman, who wove stories about New England, and many others who penned sentimental stories of the Old South.

However, not all American poets and novelists were of the romantic school. Walt Whitman, the greatest of the literary figures of this era, was a continual challenge to the dominant trend.

More typical of the age than the gigantic figure of Whitman was Mark Twain (Samuel L. Clemens). It was Mark Twain who with Charles Dudley Warner wrote *The Gilded Age* and unwittingly gave to this period a permanent name. In his greatest books—*Tom Sawyer, Huckleberry Finn, Life on the Mississippi,* and *Roughing It*—Twain drew indelible pictures of American life, but time and again he challenged the romanticism of his age in such books as his *Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc,* and *A Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court.*

5. Architecture in the Gilded Age. Perhaps the most obvious efforts to escape from realism during these years were in architecture. The Greek revival had spent itself by the War between the States, and in its place had come the Gothic (*II, 15*).[1] With but few exceptions, however, the medieval spirit was rarely captured. The Gothic revival quickly degenerated into buildings overdecorated and overornamented, topped by ugly mansard roofs and fitted out with useless gables and towers, foreign to American tradition and unsuited for efficient domestic or business purposes.

As the years went on the architecture improved, but millionaires continued to build houses modeled on the various periods of European architecture—Norman castles, French *châteaux*, English country homes. Toward the end of the century, beauty and stability were given to much of the work by Henry Hobson Richardson and Richard Morris Hunt, forerunners of a new and great school of American architects. The architectural climax of the period came in the buildings erected at the World's Fair Exposition in 1893. Although a creation of marvelous beauty, there was little that was distinctively American. Our contributions to architecture were to come in later years.

6. The Decline of Personal Journalism. Interesting as are the literary trends of this period, the average American was more influenced by the newspapers than by novelists or poets. American journalism, it is significant to note, changed greatly during these years. In the first place, the newspaper became less and less the vehicle for the personal views of the editor and more and more a commercial venture, supported by large-scale advertising and the pennies of thousands of readers. Most of the famous and influential editors of the period of the War between the States—Raymond, Greeley, Bennett, Bryant, and the second Samuel Bowles of the Springfield *Republican*—had passed from the scene by 1880. Various newspapers, of course, continued to have their special

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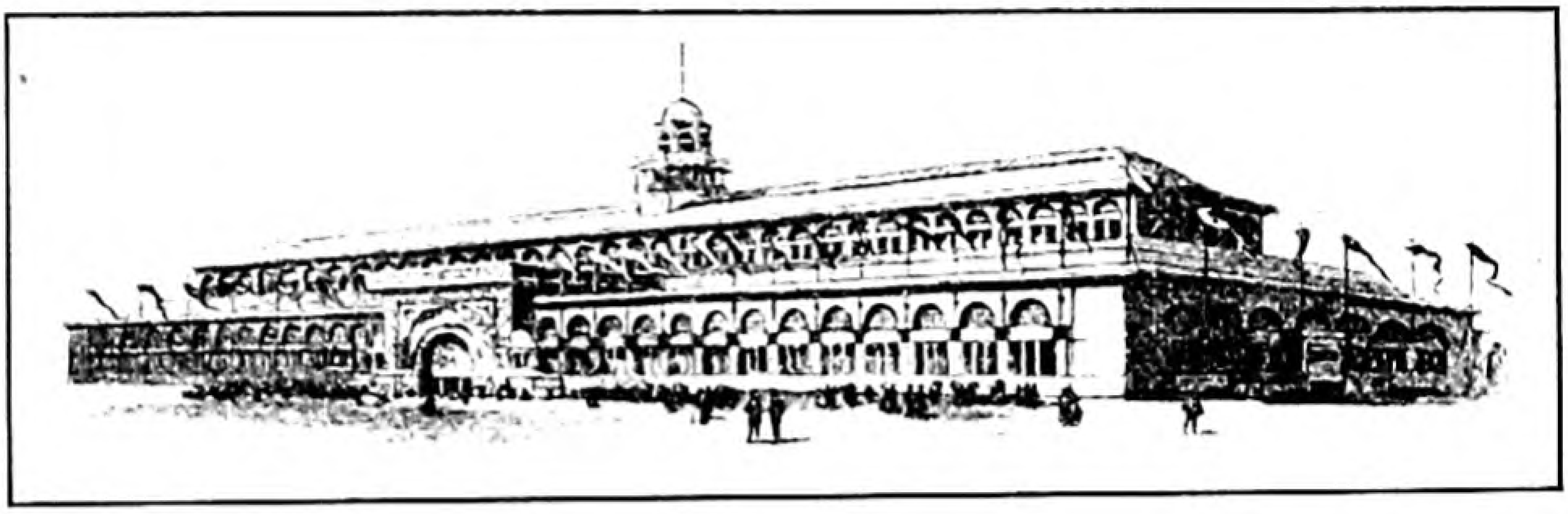
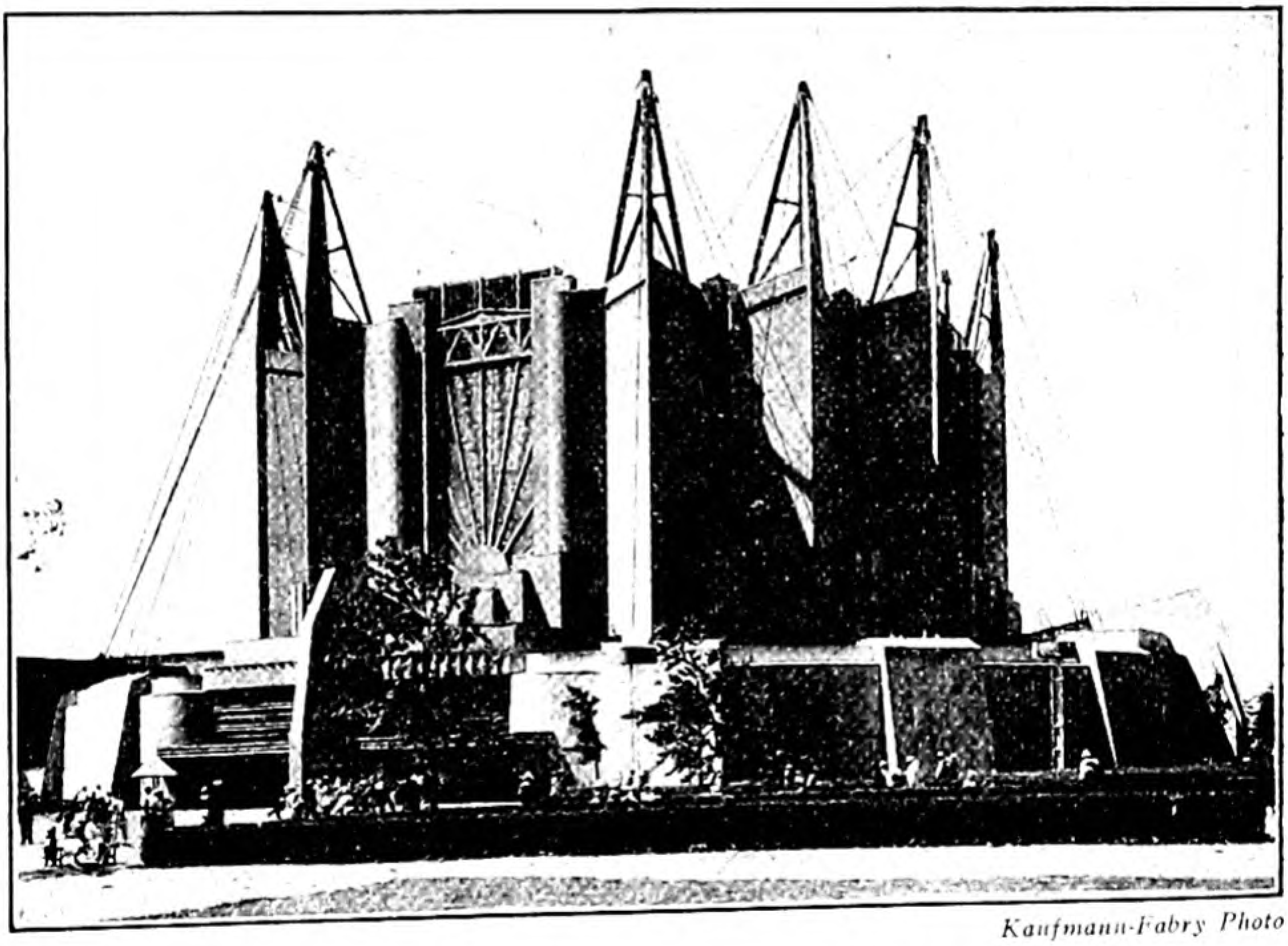
[1] These figures refer to chapter and paragraph numbers.





Kaufmann-Fabry Photo

MODERNISM IN ARCHITECTURE, 1893 AND 1933

Above is the Transportation Building at the World's Fair, 1893. Largely designed by Louis Sullivan, and fulfilling in excellent manner his theory that form should follow function, this building was striking for its main entrance or "golden portal," and was considered a radical departure in many ways. It was quite unlike other main buildings at the Exposition based upon classic models. Below is the Travel and Transportation Building at Chicago in 1933. This exaggerated example of modernist architecture is an unique departure in construction practice. Instead of being supported from below, the roof is suspended by cables attached to 12 long steel towers ranged in a circle.

characteristics which appealed to special groups, but the tendency was to grow more alike and to become impersonal business enterprises.

While their political influence declined, the newspapers improved tremendously in appearance and in news-gathering facilities. The invention of the Hoe rotary press and the Mergenthaler linotype, to mention but two of the important inventions, speeded greatly the process of getting the paper into the hands of the public. The gathering of news was facilitated by the use of the telegraph, cable, and telephone, and by great news-gathering organizations, the largest and most famous of which, the Associated Press, was founded in 1892.

Another important development was the coming of "yellow journalism." In 1883, Joseph Pulitzer, an immigrant of Hungarian-Jewish parentage who had been trained under the liberal Carl Schurz, came from St. Louis to New York and purchased the rapidly declining *World*. By emphasizing the most sensational news, he quickly changed it into an aggressive colorful paper, and in two years pushed the circulation from 16,000 to 116,000. Sensational as was the *World*, its reporting was maintained at a high standard and its editorial page, always distinctly liberal, was recognized for a half-century as the most brilliant in the country. Pulitzer's success attracted William Randolph Hearst, the son of a wealthy California pioneer, and in 1895 he purchased the New York *Journal*, soon to out-sensationalize Pulitzer. He eventually bought other papers and spread the methods of "yellow journalism" far and wide. Both Hearst and Pulitzer reached new groups of readers, and forced other newspapers to brighten their pages. Whether for good or bad, their influence has been important.

THE SEEDS OF A NEW REFORM ERA GERMINATE

7. Progress of Public School Education. The battle for a state-supported public school system had been won by 1860; it was for subsequent generations to extend and improve it. That the system was expanding more rapidly than the population, statistics amply prove. Almost 7,000,000 pupils were enrolled in the public schools in 1870; by 1900, this number had increased to 15,500,000. There were about 300 public high schools in the country in 1860; by 1900, there were over 6000. Only 12 state teacher training normal schools had been established in 1860; by 1900, there were about 175. Expenditures for public school systems quadrupled in the years 1860-1900.

Although the chief energies of educators were absorbed in the mere effort to provide educational facilities for the rapidly growing nation, real advances were made in enlarging the scope of public education and in improving the methods of instruction. The rapid growth of high schools is an indication of the first advance; and that of normal schools, of the second. But beyond this was a willingness to experiment with new ideas and methods which came for the most part from Europe. Among the most important of these were the kindergarten and manual training, which were attached to all up-to-date schools by 1900.

More important than this was the fact that a revolution was being effected in the whole theory and practice of teaching. Earlier generations had gone on the principle that certain knowledge was essential, and must somehow be hammered into the student's head through the exercise of sheer memory. In the early years of the century a German-Swiss philosopher, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, demonstrated that a better method was to appeal to the interests and understanding of the child, thus calling into use his best powers and leading him gradually into new and interesting fields of knowledge. In this way, the student theoretically ceases to be a passive receiver and becomes an active seeker of knowledge. Pestalozzi's influence was profound in America as well as Europe.

8. The American University. An important aspect of American education in the period following the War between the States is the continued growth of colleges and universities. The 246 colleges founded by 1860 had increased to almost 500 by 1900. As we have seen, the most important single influence in the growth of higher education during these years was the Morrill Act of 1862 by which Congress donated to the states public land to support colleges for the teaching of agriculture and mechanic arts. The other colleges founded during these years originated from state funds or private gifts. In either case they were less likely to be dominated by the religious influence so strong in the older denominational college. Likewise, higher education was becoming more responsive to the new age of science.

The program of studies of the old-fashioned college, based largely on the study of Greek and Latin, was badly shaken when President Charles W. Eliot introduced the elective system at Harvard and offered the student a chance to go deeply into whatever subject interested him. In particular, the new state colleges in the West, such as Michigan and Wisconsin, shaped their programs of studies to meet the needs of their people; but everywhere the larger colleges were introducing "practical" courses to supplement theory, and were adding graduate schools of law, medicine, engineering, theology, music, and education, and graduate courses in the social and political sciences. One institution, Johns Hopkins University, was established specifically for graduate study and research. Everywhere colleges were being manned by teachers who had completed their graduate work in the German universities and who brought to America the last refinements of foreign scholarship and research. Throughout the nation the universities were becoming more practical in the studies they offered as they responded to the demands of American democracy.

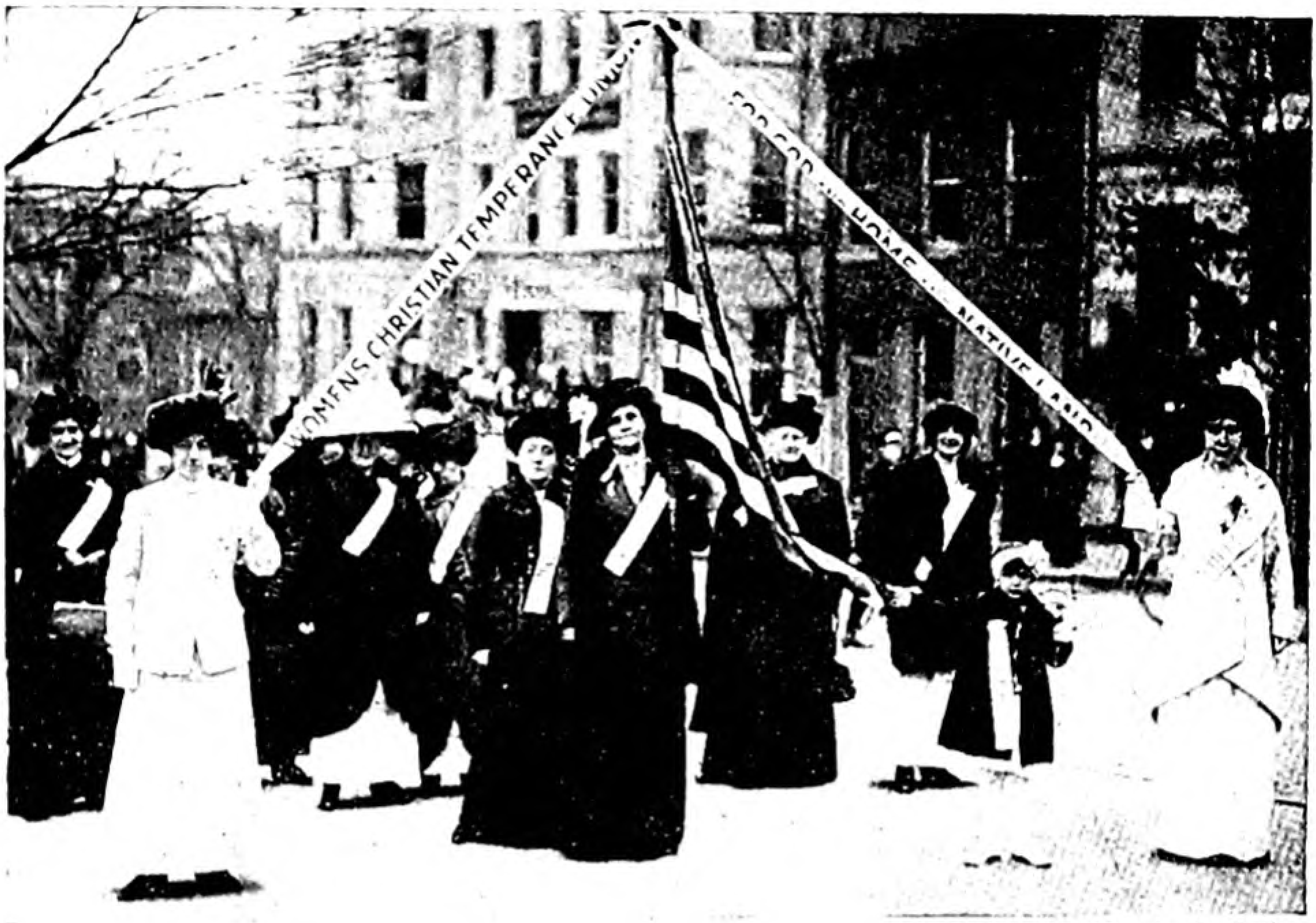
9. Educational Opportunities for Women. A few colleges, as we have seen, had opened their doors to women before the War between the States, and several seminaries for girls had been founded (*II, 8*). It was in the last half of the century, however, that women won for themselves an equal opportunity with men for a higher education. It was certain that the state universities would yield to the democratic theory of equal opportunity. Some, like Utah and Iowa, proclaimed equality at the beginning; others, such as Michigan in 1870 and Wisconsin in 1874, abandoned the policy of excluding women after a few years.

In the meantime there appeared colleges solely for women, equipped to give an education equal to the best offered by the colleges for men. Notable among these were Mount Holyoke, which transformed itself from a girls' seminary to an institution of college rank; Vassar, founded in 1865 by a rich brewer of Poughkeepsie; Smith, founded in 1871 by wealth gleaned from the fertile tobacco lands of the Connecticut Valley; Wellesley, opened in 1875 through the liberality of a Boston lawyer; and Bryn Mawr, which almost immediately after its establishment in 1885 devoted itself to graduate as well as undergraduate work.

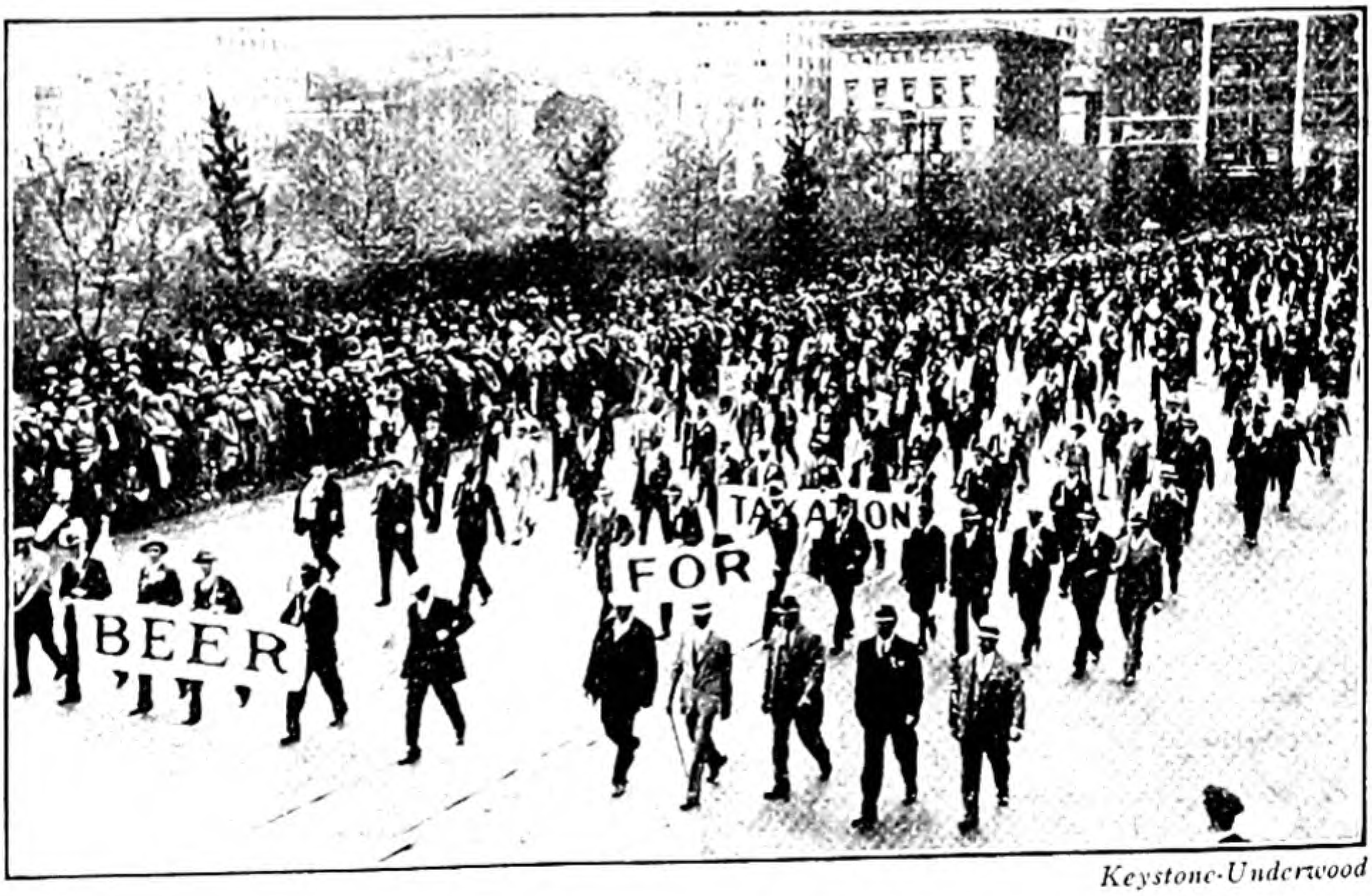
As the movement for the higher education of women developed, many private colleges for men also opened their doors to women; others compromised by establishing colleges for women—annexes to the larger institutions. The best known of this type, perhaps, are Barnard College, founded at Columbia in 1889, and Radcliffe at Harvard in 1894.

The graduate schools responded more slowly to the spirit of the time. With the exception of the state universities, few of the best graduate schools were open to women. Typical of many such institutions was Columbia, where women were not admitted to the graduate School of Political Science until 1900; only in 1916 were they admitted to the medical school, and in 1927 to the classes in law. This exclusion was not of great significance, for few women were as yet interested in the professions of medicine, law, and engineering. Increased interest in these fields was to come in the new century. In the meantime women's professional interests were chiefly art, literature and teaching, and in these fields they were assuming an increasingly important position.

10. The Prohibition Movement. The movement toward the prohibition of alcoholic beverages, which had attained considerable strength in the decade of the 'forties and 'fifties, only to collapse in subsequent years (*II, 5*), was to revive in the latter years of the century. As early as


WOMENS CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION
FOR GOD HOME NATIVE LAND

Harris & Ewing


BEER
FOR
TAXATION

Keystone-Underwood

THE 1913 DRYS AND THE 1932 WETS

The first picture shows a march of the Women's Christian Temperance Union at the Capital in 1913, advocating a prohibition amendment. Below, the New York Beer Parade of May, 1932, advocating the return of beer.

1872, believers in prohibition had organized a political party, and from that year until the enactment of national prohibition, it presented candidates in every national election. As the decades went by, the sentiment for temperance grew stronger. Each of the leading church denominations organized temperance societies, and certain of them eventually came out actively for prohibition.

The leadership in the movement was taken by the Women's Christian Temperance Union organized in 1874, and by the Anti-Saloon League launched in 1893. Both organizations maintained a constant warfare upon the liquor interests, spreading propaganda in schools as to the injurious effects of alcohol and advocating bills in the state legislatures which would permit any election district to vote itself dry ("local option").

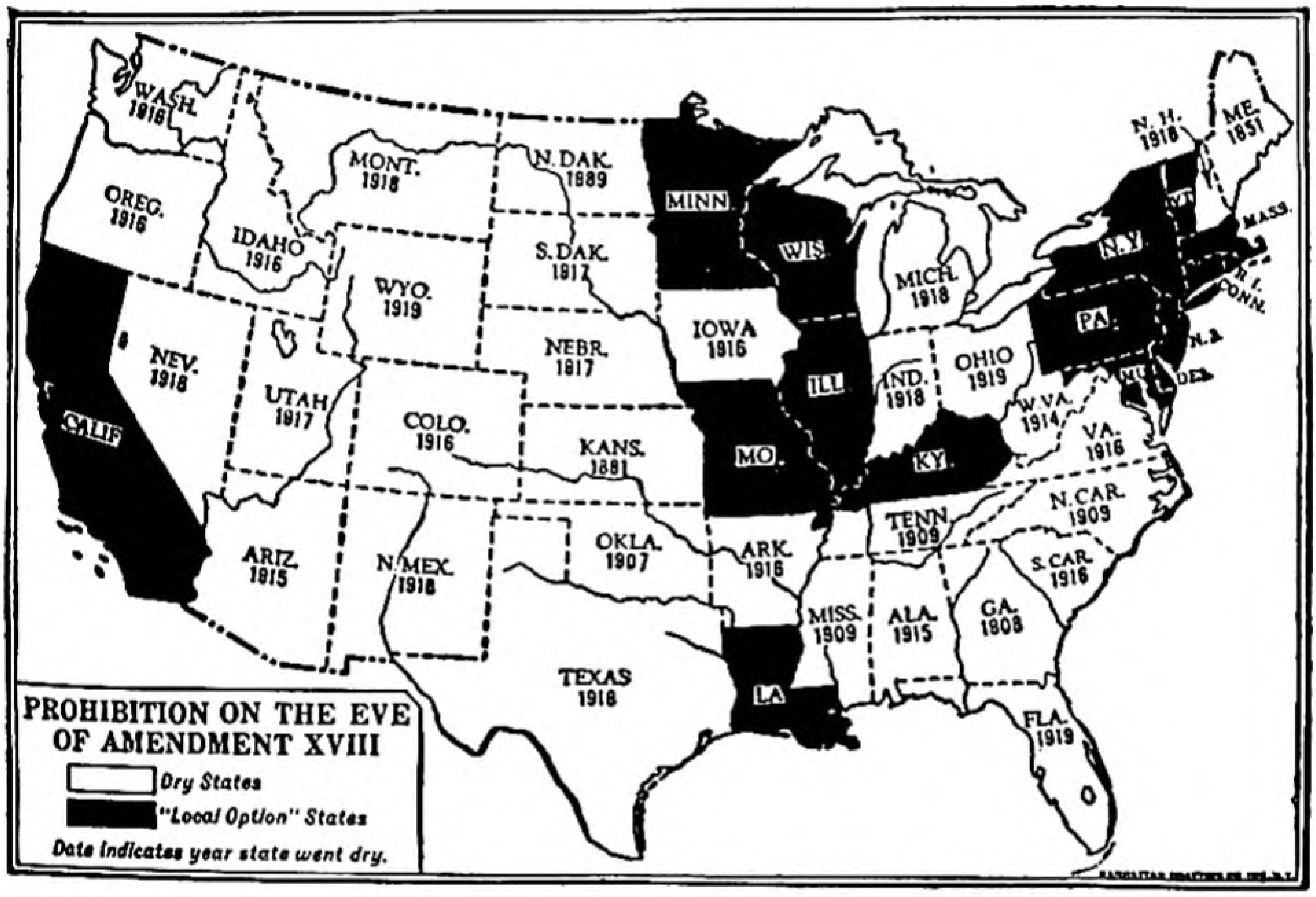

WASH. 1916
OREG. 1916
CALIF.
NEV. 1918
IDAHO 1916
MONT. 1918
WYO. 1919
UTAH 1917
COLO. 1916
ARIZ. 1915
N.MEX. 1918
N.DAK. 1889
S.DAK. 1917
NEBR. 1917
KANS. 1881
OKLA. 1907
TEXAS 1918
MINN.
IOWA 1916
MO.
ARK. 1916
LA.
WIS.
ILL.
MICH. 1918
IND. 1918
OHIO 1919
KY.
TENN. 1909
MISS. 1909
ALA. 1915
GA. 1908
FLA. 1919
S.CAR. 1916
N.CAR. 1909
VA. 1916
W.VA. 1914
PA.
N.Y.
VT.
N.H. 1918
ME. 1851
MASS.
R.I.
CONN.
N.J.
DEL.
MD.
PROHIBITION ON THE EVE OF AMENDMENT XVIII
Dry States
"Local Option" States
Date indicates year state went dry.

FIG. 2

In spite of a half-century of agitation, only five states were dry in 1898,[1] but the hard preliminary work had been accomplished. Beginning in 1907, one state after another, particularly in the South and West, adopted state-wide prohibition, until by 1919, 32 states had fallen into line. The movement toward national prohibition was greatly speeded by the First World War, when Congress to conserve food restricted the use of foodstuffs in liquor manufacture and in 1918 prohibited the wartime sale or manufacture of intoxicants. By this time there was little difficulty in getting a prohibition amendment through Congress or in securing its ratification by the necessary 36 states.[1]

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[1] Kansas, Maine, North Dakota, New Hampshire, and Vermont; and of these, the last two were to revert to local option in 1903.

When Amendment XVIII [**111-13**][2] was finally approved in January, 1919, over two-thirds of the American people lived under prohibitory laws and more than 95 per cent of American territory was already at least officially dry (see map, Fig. 2). The Volstead Act, passed to enforce the amendment, defined intoxicating liquor as that containing as much as one-half of one per cent alcohol. It was soon discovered that it was easier to put a dry amendment in the Constitution than actually to enforce prohibition. A reaction against it was soon evident, and an agitation for repeal developed rapidly.

REACTION AGAINST PROHIBITION. The increasing opposition to Amendment XVIII led the Democratic party in 1932 to demand repeal, and the Republican party to favor revision. Democratic victory speeded action and during the closing days of the Hoover administration, Congress submitted to the states Amendment XXI [**122-124**]. This repealed Amendment XVIII but prohibited the transportation or importation of intoxicating liquor into states and territories that wanted to be dry.

Acceptance of this amendment has placed the whole liquor problem back where it was before 1919, except that the principle of protecting states that are dry from the importation of liquor is now a part of the Constitution. Having tried nation-wide prohibition under federal control and found it unsatisfactory, the country decided to throw over the experiment and return to state control. The wisdom of this action depends upon one's point of view. Certainly the inadequacy of state and municipal control in the pre-prohibition days was an important cause for the passing of Amendment XVIII.

11. Trends in Religion. During the latter 1800's religion in America displayed remarkable resourcefulness and strength. Church membership increased from around 3,500,000 in 1850 to almost 33,000,000 in 1906, a percentage exceeding that of the population increase as a whole. In particular, the Roman Catholic Church, profiting by the rising tide of immigration, increased in membership until by 1900 it was the largest denomination in the country. Membership in the Protestant churches continued to be increased by successful revivals. The Salvation Army combined the old-fashioned gospel revivals with a definite attack upon the urban problems of the poor by establishing lodging houses, food depots and employment agencies. The old and the new were likewise combined in the Y.M.C.A. (founded in 1851) and the Y.W.C.A. (founded in 1866) which were interested in social, educational, and athletic activities, as well as in religious problems. These were followed by the Knights of Columbus and the Y.M.H.A.

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[1] Forty-six states, acted favorably, the vote of the legislature in five states being unanimous. Only Rhode Island and Connecticut refused to ratify.

[2] These figures in black type refer to paragraph numbers of the Constitution in Appendix I.

WIZARDS OF ELECTRICITY

Thomas A. Edison (1847-1931), responsible for the incandescent lamp, the phonograph and many other important inventions; and Charles P. Steinmetz (1865-1923), consulting engineer for the General Electric Company, examining the limb of a tree shattered by Steinmetz's artificial lightning.

THE AGE OF SCIENCE ARRIVES

12. The Electrical Age. The telegraph, it will be recalled was patented in 1840, the first transatlantic cable was laid in 1866, and by the 'eighties the electric motor was a practical tool for mankind. Scientists were fully alive to the tremendous possibilities of electricity by the middle of the century, but it was not until the last quarter of this "wonderful century" that the electrical age really dawned. Alexander Graham Bell's apparatus, which carried the voice over wires charged with electricity, was the sensation of the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition of 1876.

Its use was soon developed commercially; at least 1,000,000 telephones were in use by 1900, and over 21,000,000 by 1940. The American Telephone and Telegraph Company began the first "long distance" service in 1886 when a line was opened between New York and Philadelphia, but it was not until 1915 that the continent was spanned when Bell spoke into an exact reproduction of his original instrument in New York and was clearly heard in San Francisco.

While telephony was still in its infancy, scientists—including the Italian, Guglielmo Marconi—were already endeavoring to throw sound through the air without wires. When Marconi in 1901 caught at St. Johns, Newfoundland, the signal sent from England, the age of wireless telephony and radio had also dawned.

Of the many applications of electricity which were made during these decades, at least two should be noted. The first was in transportation, when electric power was used through motors to propel vehicles. This began in the late 'eighties with the coming of the electric "trolley" and was soon extended to subways and elevated railways, thus effecting a revolution in urban transportation. The advantages of electricity over steam soon led to its substitution on some of the regular railroad systems. Electricity also became important in the new automobile and the airplane. The other important application came in the invention of a practical electric light by Thomas A. Edison in 1879.

MANUFACTURE OF ELECTRICITY. As it quickly became evident that the wheels of industry might be turned and the needs of mankind supplied by electricity, the problem came to rest upon the means by which it could be effectively and cheaply manufactured. Electricity in the 2000 power stations existing in 1898 was manufactured chiefly by coal, but it was soon apparent that water power was cheaper. Brilliant inventors now set to work on the problem of turning water power into electricity and transporting it long distances. The great project of harnessing Niagara had been accomplished by 1900, and it was followed by many similar power plants. After a century of steam mankind was turning again to water power. By 1914 the delivery point of electric power had been extended to over 150 miles, and electric power was rapidly being made available for lighting, transportation, manufacturing, and the innumerable needs of an electrical age. The basic uses for electricity had been discovered; it was left for the new century to realize their possibilities more fully.

Can You Use These Terms?

A. Underscore the phrases or expressions that correctly complete the following statements. There may be more than one correct response to a statement.

1. An urbanized area is: (a) one in which there are a number of fairly large towns or cities; (b) a rural area in which farming predominates; (c) one where the habits and characteristics of city life predominate.
2. The term "yellow journalism" best describes: (a) tabloid newspapers; (b) newspapers containing comic strips; (c) newspapers that emphasize sensational news.
3. A normal school is: (a) a teacher-training school; (b) a building containing both elementary and high school grades; (c) the typical school found in most of our towns and cities by 1900.
4. A graduate school: (a) is a college; (b) provides advanced courses above the college level; (c) has facilities for highly specialized study.
5. A romanticist is a person whose art or writing is concerned with: (a) actual life and realism; (b) imaginative ideas that are not necessarily true to real life; (c) impressions and feelings rather than with practical situations and conditions.

Do You Know the Facts?

B. Match the following items in the right-hand column with the proper choices in the left-hand column. To do this, insert the number or numbers of choices in the parentheses in front of the proper item or items. There may be items that cannot be matched.

CHOICES

1. Architecture
2. Literature
3. Newspapers
4. Inventions
5. Education

ITEMS

a. (   ) Walt Whitman
b. (   ) Henry Hobson Richardson
c. (   ) Bret Harte
d. (   ) Sidney Lanier
e. (   ) Joseph Pulitzer
f. (   ) Charles W. Eliot
g. (   ) Mark Twain
h. (   ) William Randolph Hearst
i. (   ) Thomas A. Edison
j. (   ) Joel Chandler Harris
k. (   ) Amendment XVIII
l. (   ) Alexander Graham Bell
m. (   ) Emily Dickinson

C. Underscore the phrases or expressions that correctly complete the following statements. There may be more than one correct response to a statement.

1. The reform movement that developed in the 1830's and 1840's: (a) slowly revived during the latter 1800's; (b) worked for the extension of free public education in the decades after the War between the States; (c) failed to revive after the War between the States.

2. In the latter 1800's American agriculture: (a) became a secondary occupation; (b) supported more than half of the population; (c) produced more than half of our exports.
3. It has been estimated that in 1900 about 90 per cent of the wealth of the United States was owned by: (a) 10 per cent of the people; (b) 50 per cent of the people; (c) 75 per cent of the people.
4. American life and culture in the latter part of the last century was most typically represented by the: (a) small group of wealthy people; (b) middle-class groups in the large towns and cities; (c) masses of people crowded into the slums in the rapidly expanding urban areas.
5. Our art, architecture and literature of the latter 1800's: (a) was marked by a wave of romanticism; (b) revealed European influences; (c) produced only a few things that were essentially American.
6. During the years after the War between the States, American newspapers: (a) lost some of their political influence because the fighting, crusading editors were fewer in number; (b) furnished wider news coverage by means of improved facilities for communication; (c) were influenced to some extent by "yellow journalism."
7. American education during the last half of the nineteenth century was marked by: (a) a tremendous increase in the number of high schools; (b) development of new methods of teaching and provision for more practical subjects; (c) wider opportunity for education for women.
8. The temperance or prohibition movement that began in the earlier 1800's: (a) died out in the years following the War between the States; (b) had achieved considerable success even before the Prohibition Amendment was ratified; (c) has never been able to achieve any of its objectives.
9. During the latter 1800's and early 1900's religious denominational groups in the United States: (a) grew in membership; (b) declined in membership; (c) broadened their social welfare program.
10. Electricity for light and power came into rather wide use by about: (a) 1880; (b) 1900; (c) 1914.

Can You Use What You Have Learned?

D. Below is a series of statements pertaining to the latter 1800's and early 1900's in the United States. Underscore those describing characteristic elements of this period.

1. During the latter 1800's we went through a period aptly called "The Gilded Age."
2. Millions of workers and their families lived in city slum areas.
3. A comparatively small but wealthy portion of the population lived in great luxury, entertained and traveled extensively.
4. American educational opportunity was widened greatly.
5. This was an age of romanticism in architecture and literature.
6. Mark Twain and Walt Whitman were among the few realistic writers.

7. At the turn of the nineteenth century a small group of architects gave promise of the development of a distinctly new and American architecture.
8. Many newspapers became large scale commercial enterprises.

Summarizing Exercise

E. Cross out the phrases or expressions that are not properly associated with other items in the group.

1. (a) Immigrants; (b) tenement dwellers; (c) rural areas; (d) slums.
2. (a) Shopkeepers; (b) middle class; (c) business man; (d) laborers; (e) professional workers.
3. (a) Romanticists; (b) Walt Whitman; (c) Joel Chandler Harris; (d) Bret Harte.
4. (a) Yellow journalism; (b) William Randolph Hearst; (c) Joseph Pulitzer; (d) J. H. Pestalozzi.
5. (a) Mount Holyoke; (b) Vassar; (c) Wellesley; (d) Columbia; (e) Bryn Mawr.
6. (a) W. C. T. U.; (b) Prohibition Movement; (c) Morrill Act; (d) Amendment XVIII; (e) Volstead Act.
7. (a) Wireless; (b) Mergenthaler linotype machine; (c) incandescent light; (d) iron plow; (e) telephone.

Correspondences or Class Assignments

F. See general instructions under this heading, p. vi.

1. Describe three general characteristics of American social and cultural life in the latter 1800's. Indicate to what extent these characteristics: (a) existed in earlier years in America; (b) exist today.
2. Name three men who stand out in the latter 1800's for their literary, scientific or other contributions. Show how the contribution of each man named has influenced American life in more recent times.
3. Give an account of developments in American education during the latter 1800's and early 1900's touching upon: (a) growth of the high school; (b) educational opportunity for women; (c) changing program of the American college and university.

Suggested Readings

Textbooks:

Good background reading about the "Gilded Age" may be found in: J. S. Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, chap. xlii; C. A. Beard and M. R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, II, chap. xxv; H. U. Faulkner, *American Political and Social History*, chap. xxviii; and M. Sullivan, *Our Times*, I, 183-290; II, 7-48, 49-61, 62-83, 120-42, 143-53, 197-212.

Consult B. Perry, *The American Spirit in Literature*, chap. viii, for romanticism in literature; E. E. Slosson, *The American Spirit in Education*, for an account of educational growth. An interesting account of prohibition may be found in F. L. Allen, *Only Yesterday*, chap. x. The coming of the Age of Electricity is described in B. J. Hendrick, *The Age of Big Business*, chap. ix.

Biographies:

Some good biographies about people mentioned in this chapter are: F. A. James, *Thomas Alva Edison*; C. Mackenzie, *Alexander Graham Bell*; F. T. Miller, *Thomas A. Edison*; W. A. Simonds, *Edison*. To find out about slum conditions during these years read: J. Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House*; L. Wald, *Windows on Henry Street*.

Historical Novels:

B. Tarkington, *The Magnificent Ambersons*, is a fine novel of American life at the turn of the century; J. P. Marquand, *The Late George Apley*, tells of a phase of life in Boston.

CHAPTER IV

America Comes of Age

THE SPEED OF AMERICAN LIFE INCREASES

1. **The Lock Step of Industrialism.** By the end of the nineteenth century the Industrial Revolution had triumphed in America. Another quarter of a century made strikingly evident its effect in standardizing American life.

> It is the age of the machine triumphant [wrote an observer of contemporary America]. We are but ants in the machines; the wheels revolve and we revolve with them. Can any man look at the subway rush and then speak of those jammed midges as "lords of creation"? Alarm clocks, timetables, factory whistles, ordinances, rules, the lock step of industrialism—the lock step of paternalism!

He was right. The whole nation seemed caught in the unyielding operation of a machine age. Laborers were struggling to obey the factory whistle and maintain the pace set by the machines. Office workers were scrambling to catch their trains that they too might be delivered at some point where they could take their part in the sale and distribution of the mass products of the new machinery.

But this was not the whole story. Not alone were the working hours of mankind being subordinated to the new machinery; their play and intellectual life were also becoming standardized. Improvements in transportation and communication, along with machine production, made it not only possible, but inevitable, that the small-town merchant should dress like a Wall Street banker and also think like him. They owned the same make of automobile, ate the same type of food, witnessed the same moving pictures, listened to the same radio program, and read the same syndicated matter (including the "funny" page) in the newspapers. The latest gem of economic or political wisdom which might fall from the lips of industrial leaders or statesmen was known to all who might listen to the radio even before it appeared in the newspapers.

The speed of life was indeed increasing; but along with it developed a sameness in conditions of work, in manner of recreation, and in intellectual viewpoint which seemed destined to go farther as syndicated news stories, and magazine and radio advertising became more effective instruments of propaganda.

2. An Urbanized America. One of the most important effects of the Industrial Revolution was the growth of urban life as the factories, like great magnets, drew to themselves an ever increasing number of human beings. In 1860 about one-sixth of the American people lived in cities of 8,000 or upwards; by 1940, more than half the people lived in such cities, and many millions more were essentially part of the life of these communities (see map, Fig. 3).

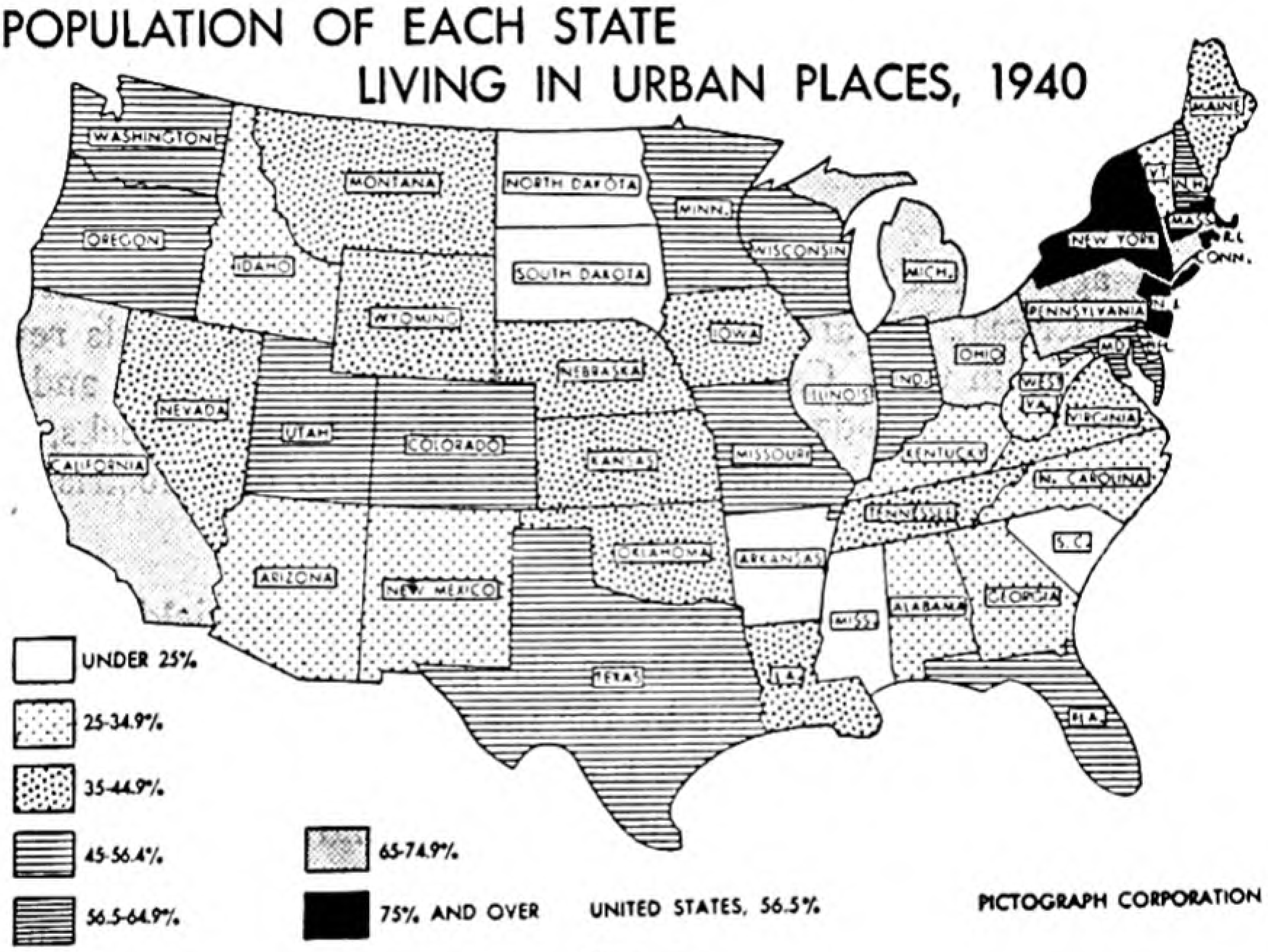
POPULATION OF EACH STATE
LIVING IN URBAN PLACES, 1940
WASHINGTON
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
NEVADA
IDAHO
MONTANA
WYOMING
UTAH
ARIZONA
COLORADO
NEW MEXICO
NORTH DAKOTA
SOUTH DAKOTA
NEBRASKA
KANSAS
OKLAHOMA
TEXAS
MINN.
IOWA
MISSOURI
ARKANSAS
LA.
WISCONSIN
ILLINOIS
MISS.
MICH.
IND.
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
ALABAMA
OHIO
W.VA.
VIRGINIA
N. CAROLINA
S.C.
GEORGIA
FLA.
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW YORK
MAINE
VT.
N.H.
MASS.
R.I.
CONN.
N.J.
MD.
UNDER 25%
25-34.9%
35-44.9%
45-56.4%
56.5-64.9%
65-74.9%
75% AND OVER
UNITED STATES, 56.5%
PICTOGRAPH CORPORATION

FIG. 3

The typical American was no longer a farmer, but a factory hand or office worker. He saw the country only when he went on a business trip or turned his motor car away from the city. His recreations were those of the city man—the theater, the moving picture, attendance at sports. In all of these he was a passive observer rather than an active participant; he paid for amusement which someone else furnished. His mode of life was also changing. City conditions did not allow the single dwelling and the expansive way of living which characterized an earlier age. New days—new styles. He lived in fewer rooms with less furniture, with the guest room almost nonexistent, and recreation found outside the crowded walls of the small apartment. The heavy meals of an earlier day were inconvenient to prepare in a tiny kitchenette and inappropriate for occupations not requiring much physical activity. Consequently he ate less in amount, and a different type of food. Children were no longer the economic asset that they had been in the agricultural era. There was little room for them in the city apartment, and the birth rate declined noticeably. It was indeed evident that a new America was appearing in the twentieth century.

3. **The New Farmer.** The farmer no less than the city dweller felt the pace of the industrial age. As the methods of transportation and communication rapidly improved, the customs and mode of life of city and country grew more and more alike. The country "hick" of the early movies tended to disappear as the rural areas were flooded with the products of the machine age and the conveniences of city life penetrated the country. The old-fashioned peddler who retailed his goods from door to door had given way to the mail-order catalogue with its thousands of items, and to the parcel post which brought the latest urban improvement to the isolated farm.

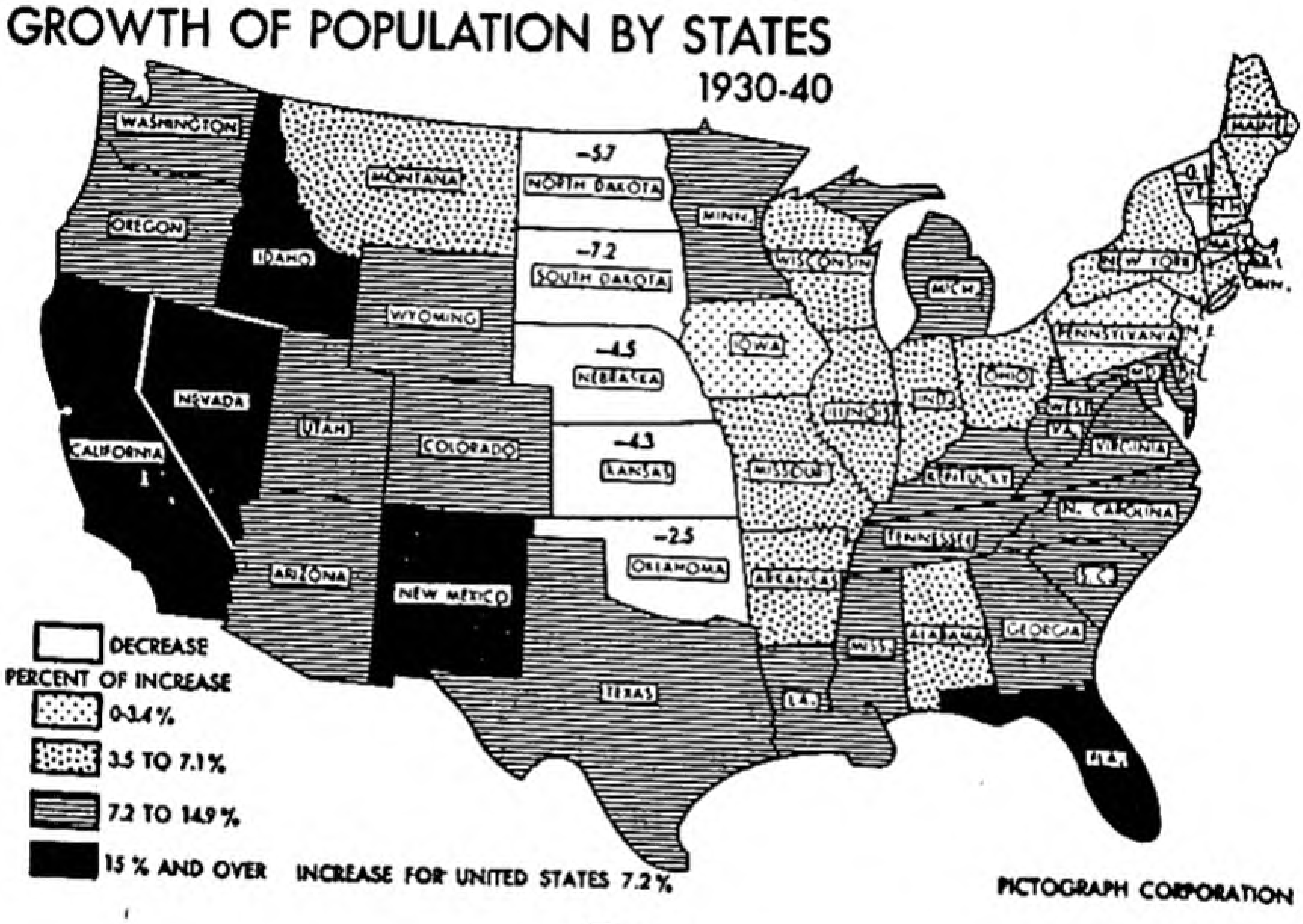
GROWTH OF POPULATION BY STATES
1930-40
WASHINGTON
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
IDAHO
NEVADA
MONTANA
WYOMING
UTAH
COLORADO
ARIZONA
NEW MEXICO
-5.7
NORTH DAKOTA
-7.2
SOUTH DAKOTA
-4.5
NEBRASKA
-4.3
KANSAS
-2.5
OKLAHOMA
TEXAS
MINN.
IOWA
MISSOURI
ARKANSAS
LA.
WISCONSIN
ILLINOIS
MICH.
IND.
OHIO
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
MISS.
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
FLA.
S.C.
N. CAROLINA
VIRGINIA
W. VA.
MD.
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW YORK
N.J.
CONN.
VT.
N.H.
MAINE
DECREASE
PERCENT OF INCREASE
0-3.4%
3.5 TO 7.1%
7.2 TO 14.9%
15% AND OVER
INCREASE FOR UNITED STATES 7.2%
PICTOGRAPH CORPORATION

FIG. 4

The machine age, furthermore, provided the farmer not alone with all the mechanical improvements which came to the city dweller, but with a great variety of new farm machinery driven by gasoline engines or electricity, so that he was becoming increasingly an engineer rather than a manual worker. As long as the farmer could sell his products at a price which brought reasonable prosperity—a situation which existed from about 1898 to 1919—agricultural life presented one of the most favorable aspects of American civilization. Many people, in fact, seeking relief from the turmoil of the cities, "went back to the land," asserting that country life afforded most of the worth-while things found in the city, and many more besides.

4. Leisure in a Mechanical Age. The machine age and urbanization affected American amusements in at least three important ways. In the earlier agricultural decades the typical American was engaged in hard physical labor; he had no need of further exercise and little time for recreation. With the growth of cities, the average man, tied to an office desk or a factory machine, needed and craved some form of relaxation. The middle and wealthier classes made a deliberate effort to regain the lost opportunities of an earlier era for exercise. Gymnasiums appeared in the cities, and country clubs were organized in the suburbs to foster tennis, golf, bicycling, and other sports. This sort of exercise—with the exception of bicycling, perhaps—cost more money than the poor man could afford, and he had to be content with an occasional trip to the baseball game or a family party at one of the amusement parks, like Coney Island, which were to be found near every large city.

In the second place, there was a rapid development in commercialized and professionalized sport. If the average city dweller had neither the time, opportunity, nor money to indulge in sports himself, he at least had enough to witness occasionally the participation of others. The result was that sport became a business, with professionals playing before crowds of admiring spectators and promoters ready to push the business to the limit. The most exciting of the sports was undoubtedly prize fighting, which early became professionalized. The most important pastime in number of spectators was baseball, where throughout the summer crowds watched the fortunes of the teams which fought for the championship in the National League (founded in 1875) and the American League (1900). Even amateur athletics took on the aspect of big business—particularly football, where highly paid coaches carefully trained their players through the long weeks of the season to appear in large stadiums before crowds running up to 100,000. It is estimated that in 1927, 30,000,000 spectators attended football games and paid $50,000,000 in gate receipts.

Indoor Amusements. A third and inevitable effect of urbanization upon recreation was the development of indoor amusements. Many of the sports, of course, could not be played indoors; but wherever possible—as in track, tennis, swimming and boxing—facilities were developed for indoor exhibitions, and new games, such as basketball, were invented for the winter months.[1]

Of the indoor amusements which developed in the twentieth century, none was more important than the moving picture and the radio. The great development of the moving picture came after 1905. The *Independent* asserted early in 1908 that within the previous two years "moving picture theaters or exhibition halls have opened in nearly every town and village in the country, and every city from the Klondike to Florida and from Maine to California supports from two or three to several hundred," patronized each day by an average of from two to three million people. It is estimated that by 1929 the attendance at moving pictures reached 10,000,000 a day, only to decline during the next few years chiefly as a result of the economic depression and competition from the radio.

The development of radio came after 1920 when the first commercial broadcasting station in the world, WWJ of Detroit, Michigan, inaugurated in August a daily schedule with the results of the state primary election of that year. Ten years later there was scarcely a home without a radio. Over 800 stations were broadcasting programs by 1940, but the most important were hooked up in two major chains so that millions of people might be listening at the same moment to the same music, political oratory or advertising propaganda. In this manner science provided another unifying force tending to standardize our civilization.

No discussion of indoor amusement would be complete without noting the tremendous popularity of that age-old recreation, dancing. The phonograph and later the radio provided new means for introducing music into the home at just the time when the increasing speed of our industrial civilization was reacting upon music. The stately and graceful dances of our ancestors found little favor in the rapidly moving years of the new century. A rhythm known as "ragtime" provided popular music for dancing, music which was soon to develop into "jazz." "Jazz is the folk music of the machine age," said a famous orchestra leader; and the decade of the 'twenties is often referred to as the "jazz age."

A REFORM AGE SEEKS SOCIAL JUSTICE

5. The Muckrakers. The seeds of a new reform age which had been germinating before 1900 bore fruit in the first 15 years of the new century. This reform era was preceded and accompanied by a great number of books and a large amount of periodical literature exceedingly critical of existing social, economic, and political conditions. Why "muckraking" and a reform era should have come at this particular moment in our history is not easily answered. Perhaps it was due to the fact that the end of the frontier had been reached, and that the American people, who for 300 years had been engaged in the development of our natural resources, had time to pause and contemplate their handiwork. Perhaps the economic distress of millions after the panics of 1873 and 1893 and the bitter economic conflicts of these years had shaken the faith of the masses that all conditions were perfect. Perhaps it was the rapid business consolidation and the development of great trusts which aroused a real fear of an economic aristocracy. Whatever the cause, the social conscience of the nation was aroused as a host of writers laid open the sores which had accumulated upon the body of our economic and political life. Thoroughly aroused, the American people acted with their customary vigor in an effort to eradicate some of the outstanding forms of injustice.

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[1] Basketball was invented in 1891 by James Naismith of the Y. M. C. A. Training School at Springfield, Massachusetts, and its development was rapid from the start.

6. Children's Rights. Although the most famous exposures of the muckrakers were directed at corruption in business and politics, the spirit of reform permeated everywhere. It was particularly noticeable in a changed attitude toward children and child life. Beyond extending and improving the school system, little had so far been done for children. Like Topsy in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, they "just grew." Statisticians pointed out that in certain states in America in 1900, 160 infants out of every 1000 died. However, experts asserted that one-half of this mortality could be prevented if the causes—unsanitary surroundings, improper food, parental ignorance, and other conditions based on poverty—could be eliminated.

Conditions were most acute in the cities, and there the battle to save childhood commenced. Beginning in Rochester in 1897, milk stations were established for poor children, and municipalities and states began to enact legislation to insure the purity and wholesomeness of the milk supply. Various municipalities also turned their attention to the establishment of playgrounds, until by 1915 more than 400 cities were maintaining over 3000 playgrounds. Chiefly through private funds, day nurseries were established where working mothers might leave their infants. In 1894 Boston established a regular system for the medical inspection of school children, and during the next 20 years the more progressive municipalities and states followed her example. Even dental inspection has been introduced in many school systems.

Important in the recreational life of the older boy and girl were the opportunities afforded by such organizations as the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. (*III,11*), and such clubs as the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts and the Camp Fire Girls which soon followed.[1] Nor should one forget, in this discussion of child conservation, the growth of the juvenile court system; that is, the setting up of special courts and judges to handle the problems of the delinquent child.

CHILD LABOR. An important phase of this story is the advance of child labor legislation. By 1900 at least 1,700,000 children under 16 were engaged in gainful occupations. At least 40 per cent were in factories, mines or tenement sweatshops, often working under conditions too shocking to tolerate. As the situation was comprehended, many state legislatures increased the minimum age limit, prohibited certain employments that were detrimental to health and morals, limited the hours of night work or fixed educational requirements. To bring other states in line which had hesitated to pass such laws, two child labor bills were passed by Congress, but both were declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. What specific congressional laws failed to accomplish was achieved in 1933 by general agreement under the codes of the NIRA. Meanwhile, Congress created in 1912 a Children's Bureau in the Department of Commerce and Labor (now in the Department of Labor) to study the problems of child labor and conditions of child life.

7. **Women in the New Century.** In many respects the twentieth century marked a new era for American women as the full effects of the Industrial Revolution made themselves felt. The great majority of women still found their careers in the family and in motherhood, but the conditions of family life were changing. Much of the work which women performed in the home had now passed to the factory—the manufacture of textiles, the making of clothing, the canning and preservation of food. This was fortunate, for the small city apartment was wholly inadequate for such operations. Furthermore, household work was greatly lessened by such new inventions as the gas stove, the electric light, the telephone, and electrically operated household equipment such as the vacuum cleaner, the iron and mangle, the washing machine and the mechanical refrigerator.

This change gave millions of women more leisure. Some, of course, frittered away this time in a useless round of pleasure seeking; others took the opportunity to enrich their intellectual life or threw themselves into various types of community service. Women's clubs increased

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[1] The Boy Scouts originated in England in 1908 through the work of General Sir Robert S. S. Baden-Powell, for the purpose of training boys between 12 and 18 in self-reliance, manliness and good citizenship. Two similar organizations in America—the Woodcraft Indians, founded by Ernest Thompson Seton, and the Sons of Daniel Boone, founded by Dan C. Beard—united in 1910 to form the Boy Scouts of America. In 1912 Dr. and Mrs. Luther Gulick founded the Camp Fire Girls, and Mrs. Juliette Low, the Girl Scouts.

GIRLS COL

rapidly; the General Federation of Women's Clubs (founded in 1889) had over 1,000,000 members by 1914; and by this time these clubs, which in the early years had been largely literary, were concerning themselves more and more with the practical problems of a new civilization.

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY. In another way the Industrial Revolution affected women. From the days of the early factories, women and children had taken part in industry, but the new century saw a rapid increase in the proportion of women workers, particularly in office and store employment. Just as the girls of rural New England a century earlier had moved to Waltham or Lowell to operate the new textile machinery, so their granddaughters, hoping to be saleswomen, stenographers, nurses, or librarians, flocked to the towns and cities. The Industrial Revolution had created a multitude of new jobs and also new professions. Of the latter, social work is notable; it was in this field that Jane Addams, perhaps the outstanding woman of her generation, carried on her noble work at Hull House in Chicago.

New opportunities for work meant economic independence and thus raised the status of women. It brought in its train many results, good or bad according to one's point of view. It meant later marriage, smaller families, increased divorces. It often meant that both husband and wife worked outside the home, thus turning over to teachers and others more of the responsibility of child training. In the labor market it meant increased competition between men and women for available jobs. For many reasons, women received lower wages than men, and they were in a distinctly exploited class. They were harder to organize into unions, for many considered their jobs merely a stop-gap until marriage. They were usually members of a family unit and so did not have to earn their full way, or else they were forced to take whatever job was available where the family lived. Because of their weak position in the labor market and because they were the potential mothers of a future generation, an increasing amount of labor legislation was passed to protect their health and welfare. Whether the effect of the Industrial Revolution upon the future of women was for good or ill, no one doubted that they had entered a new day.

8. The Social Gospel. It was certain in an age of reform that religion and organized Christianity would eventually be affected. In all of the churches there appeared new leaders who demanded that the church lay aside theological controversies and direct its energies toward an improvement of the intolerable conditions existing among the people. It was all right, they asserted, for the clergyman to prepare his flock in a spiritual way for the life to come, but it was also necessary to exert every effort to make this life on earth a decent and happy experience. Young ministers, they said, should be taught sociology (the study of the organization and development of human society) as well as religious doctrine and history. The more radical asserted that the church should throw itself into the agitation for reform and carry the battle even into the halls of the legislatures. The more conservative, on the other hand, pointed out that such a program would be dangerous to the church, that it would antagonize many interests and that it would lessen the spiritual appeal of the church.

What were the results of this new move to enlarge the function of the churches? In the first place, it brought greater coöperation on the part of the various sects. The most notable example of this was the organization in 1908 of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, representing 33 Protestant denominations and 17,000,000 members. This organization brought Protestant denominations together for the purpose of acting on common problems. A second result of the movement was that churches in the cities took on added activities as they began to support athletic clubs, social halls, paid welfare workers, and carefully organized charities. In the third place, the church became more willing to take a definite stand on social and economic problems of a controversial nature. For example, we find the Federal Council, immediately after its organization, advocating protection of the workers from occupational diseases, abolition of child labor, suppression of the sweatshop, reduction of the hours of the work day, workers' compensation, and old age insurance. There were many evidences that a new church for a new age had come into existence.

Wide World

SOCIAL RELIGION

Of various types of socialized religion one example is shown in a Mormon group canning food for less fortunate members during the depression.

EDUCATION ADAPTS ITSELF TO A NEW CIVILIZATION

9. Rapid Expansion of Public Education. Of all the institutions erected by the American democracy, perhaps most was expected from the public school. The future success of political democracy, it was universally believed, depended upon educated voters, and the future success of the child upon adequate schooling. The 15,500,000 pupils registered in public schools in 1900 had grown to over 26,000,000 in 1934, with a cost to the taxpayer of over $2,000,000,000. The growth of the high schools had been particularly rapid. For every day of the calendar years between 1890 and 1918, one public high school was established. As a result, the number of students attending high school increased from 500,000 in 1900 to over 5,600,000 in 1934. Almost as rapid was the jump in college attendance, where the number of students increased more than five times between 1900 and 1930.

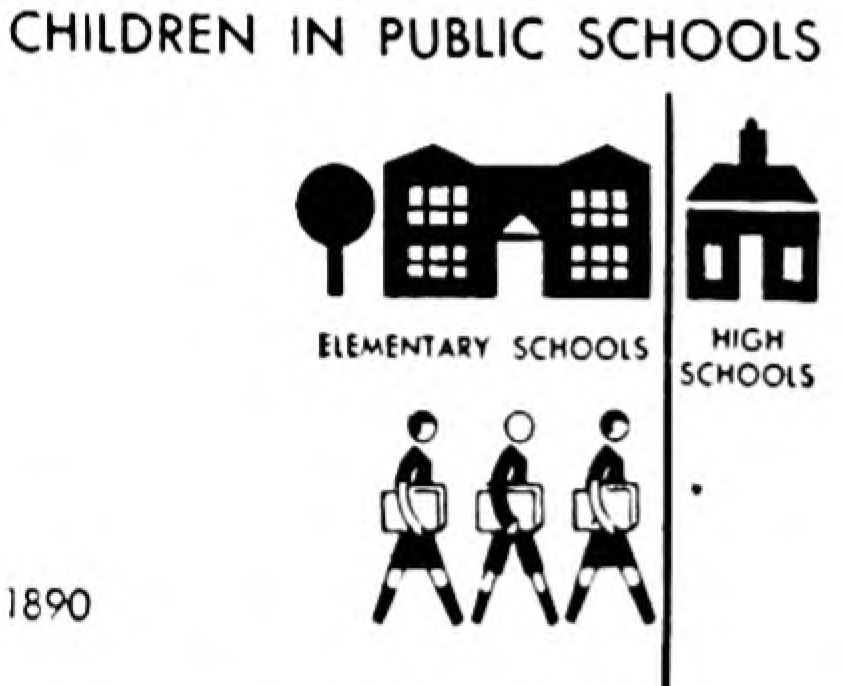

FIG. 5

It is obvious that the great period of high-school development came after the turn of the century. It is also interesting and surprising to note that enrollment in elementary schools, which had increased steadily for many decades, until it reached its high point in 1930, declined in the 'thirties.

The 900,000 college students in 1930 represented fully one-eighth of the country's population between the ages of 18 and 21, and these students had at least 1000 institutions, public and private, to choose from. What the result of this mass education will be only the future can tell; but the rapidity with which taxpayers and wealthy individuals poured their money into education was proof that at least an opportunity for education was being provided for those with the capacity to grasp it.

10. Reorganization of the Public School System. The development of mass education brought with it many serious problems. To many people the schools seemed like huge factories which forced the student through a rigid mold, to throw him sooner or later upon the labor market with but slight equipment to meet the problems of life. Many of the wisest educators pointed out that students differed greatly in capacity and interests, and that only an absurd and inefficient system would attempt the same type of education for all. Of the men influential in emphasizing this, the most important was America's greatest philosopher of these years, John Dewey. Like most Americans before him, Dewey believed that the hope of the future rested in education, but he argued that the aim of education should not be the mere acquisition of knowledge, but the fitting of the child for real life. The school, he urged, was a place where the child should learn life by living. To accomplish this, the school must go beyond book learning, and include play and the use of tools, a contact with nature, and the development of the student's personality.

THE NEW EDUCATION. Dewey's philosophy was in line with the needs of a machine age, and it was warmly accepted by progressive educators. The result was a wider introduction, both in high school and the grades, of vocational training, including instruction in agriculture, industry, trade and commerce. In line with this, high schools of commerce and mechanic arts were established in the cities. The responsibility of directing students into suitable educational channels was assumed increasingly by public school systems, and special educational and vocational guidance was begun. At the same time, certain courses which had long been a regular part of high school work, such as Greek, astronomy and geology, began to be dropped.

More and more the whole educational system began to be eyed critically. The most interesting experiments were made in the earlier grades, but even in the colleges efforts of various kinds were undertaken to overcome the evils of mass education and provide the proper stimulation and environment for the individual student. In many ways the machine age also improved the material equipment of the school system. The coming of the automobile and the building of new roads, for example, permitted the elimination of many of the small rural schoolhouses and their consolidation into larger fireproof buildings presided over by more adequately trained teachers.

11. Junior High Schools and Junior Colleges. The new experiments in education also tended to break down the traditional division of grades. Up to 1910 the typical American educational scheme comprised an eight-year course in the elementary school, four years in high school, and four years in college. About that time, the desire to broaden education in the lower grades and provide better for the individual differences among students led to an extension of the high school downward to include the seventh and eighth grades. The development of the junior high school became an outstanding feature in educational history during the next 20 years.

Just as the high school extended downward into the junior high school, so it extended upward into the junior college. Many urged the junior college as a means of relieving overcrowding in the older colleges, providing facilities for two years' work nearer home, and thus offering more students the advantages of a college education and providing a shorter academic training for those who could go no farther. There was much to be said in favor of junior colleges, but their development was slower than that of the junior high school. Nevertheless, these schools were gradually winning favor, and by 1940 over 450 had been established.

ART BECOMES REALISTIC

12. The Triumph of Realism in Literature. Nineteenth-century romanticism reached its climax in America in a great flood of romantic historical fiction which swept the nation in the early years of the new century. Americans, wearied with the economic battles of the 'nineties and stirred by the excitement of the war with Spain, eagerly devoured these books. Some of the best, such as S. Weir Mitchell's *Hugh Wynne* and Winston Churchill's *Richard Carvel* and *The Crisis*, dealt with our own history, and warmed us with the feeling that we, too, had enjoyed a long and worthy past. Fundamentally, however, historical fiction was an effort to escape from the reality of life.[1]

Some historical fiction, of course, continued to be written, but even in the days when it was most popular there were the stirrings of rebellion on the part of youthful writers who preferred to picture American life as it really was. Of these early realists, one should note Frank Norris, who wrote *The Octopus* (1901), a book dealing with the struggle between the farmers and the railroads; Upton Sinclair, whose novel *The Jungle* revealed the packing industry at its worst; and Jack London, who in *The Iron Heel* (1907) and other novels struck vigorously against the economic system. Theodore Dreiser, Sinclair Lewis, Sherwood Anderson, James Branch Cabell, and the playwright, Eugene O'Neill, were later authors who wrote novels and plays about American life as they actually saw it.

POETRY. What has been said of fiction is in general true of poetry. The romantic school of the later nineteenth century gave way in the second decade of the twentieth to the poetry of such men as Edwin Arlington Robinson, Edgar Lee Masters, Carl Sandburg, and Robert Frost, expressing life as it is.

13. Modernism in Art. Other forms of art also were striving to come to closer grips with the reality of life. This can be seen in the first place in an interest in a new type of subject and in a more realistic handling. Artists became more interested in the common man and his life, and in emphasizing unlovely aspects which the romanticist would gloss over. An example of this is George Grey Barnard's conception of Lincoln, with overemphasis upon his youthful ungainly angularity—a conception which gives the spectator a truer picture of the great man than would a more conventional creation.

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[1] Among the historical novels was Stephen Crane's *Red Badge of Courage*, a realistic rather than romantic picture, which remains today the best novel of the War between the States.

The general result, however, was good. American painting and other forms of graphic art reached in the twentieth century a level higher than in any preceding period. First-class sculpture hardly existed in the United States until the end of the nineteenth century, but during the 30 years following, our sculpture has equalled in amount and excellence that produced in any part of the world. In architecture there has been notable advance. The best of our native architecture has been revived and adapted to the needs of the modern home, while American arcihtects have made notable contributions in the design of skyscrapers, created because of the soaring values of city land.

MODERN MIRACLES ARE REVEALED BY SCIENCE

14. The Advance of Science. In the industrial machine age intellectual life has been largely concerned with science, and the frontiers of scientific knowledge have been pushed rapidly in every direction. In this work Americans took an honored part. Of the 121 awards in science made by the Nobel Institute of Stockholm between 1901 and 1939, 14 were won by Americans. Considering our wealth and population, this seems perhaps a small proportion; but the genius of American scientists during these years lay in the application of science to the everyday needs of life, rather than in the realms of pure science. Thus the telegraph, the telephone, the radio and the airplane have been largely developed by American inventors. Nevertheless, three Americans during these years won Nobel prizes in chemistry, four in physics and six in physiology and medicine.

The method of attack upon the frontiers of knowledge is changing somewhat. Much of the earlier work was done by individuals with little equipment and financial backing—Goodyear, Bell, Edison in his earlier days, and the Wright brothers. Today there are scores of organizations furnishing the means whereby research scientists can pursue their studies with all the facilities which wealth can provide. Hundreds of industrial concerns support research laboratories to promote the advance of their particular industry. At the same time thousands of college professors are striving, with what opportunities they have, to add a bit of knowledge to the field of their major interest. From these quiet laboratories expeditions go out to the ends of the earth to probe the secrets of the animal, vegetable, and mineral resources of the world and their history through the ages.

15. Science and Everyday Life. The vital problem in all of this is the practical influence which the advance of science has had upon the everyday life of mankind. To discuss this adequately would take volumes. We have already mentioned how the applications of steam and electricity have revolutionized manufacturing and solved the problems of production; how they have speeded the transportation of commodities, information and human beings. We have shown how electricity has become a handmaiden in the home to make life easier and more comfortable.

But this is the mere beginning of the story. Scientists have discovered new metals such as aluminum and chromium, and have devised methods of making them cheap enough for wider use. Chemists have developed a wizardry of their own. They have transformed coal tar into scores of commodities ranging from high explosives to coloring matter for cake frosting, and the cellulose from wood pulp into innumerable commodities from sausage casings to rayon underwear. The world has begun to wonder whether the ingenuity of chemistry cannot devise substitutes for any and all of the commodities commonly used.

MODERN MEDICINE. No more important advances were made than those in the field of medicine. Chemistry, physics and other sciences combined to bring this about, and Americans made important contributions. An American commission, sent to Cuba in 1900 and headed by Doctor Walter Reed, ascertained beyond doubt that yellow fever was carried by a certain variety of female mosquito. This discovery made possible the conquest of a disease, long the scourge of the tropics, and opened the way for an attack on malaria, which was found to be carried in the same way.

Another disease of the warmer countries caused by the hookworm was diagnosed and a simple cure provided by two Americans. Two other Americans proved by experiments in Mexico that typhus is carried by body lice. Notable contributions were made by Americans in the control of the age-old scourge of tuberculosis, especially by Edward L. Trudeau, who demonstrated at Saranac Lake in the late 'eighties the curative value of outdoor living and proper diet. His work soon bore fruit in the establishment throughout the nation of private, municipal and state tuberculosis sanitariums. The common household fly, it was discovered, carried typhoid and many other diseases, and beginning in 1908 a great campaign was started against this pest. Important work done chiefly in America in discovering new food elements soon to be called vitamins, revolutionized our attitude toward foods, modified our diet and opened the way for a new attack upon many diseases.

This widespread advance of knowledge had its effect in disease prevention and curative medicine. New knowledge as to how disease is transmitted, new chemical preparations to kill disease germs, serums and antitoxins, especially successful in typhoid and diphtheria, along with other discoveries, have practically eradicated some diseases. The effect of others was greatly softened, and the span of human life lengthened. The average life-span had been extended from 49.24 years in 1901 to 59.1 in 1927. The diseases upon which the greatest progress was made were those of youth; certain of the diseases of old age, particularly cancer, are yet to be conquered.

Can You Use These Terms?

A. Underscore the phrases or expressions that correctly complete the following statements. There may be more than one correct response to a statement.

1. Syndicated matter in a newspaper is usually considered to be: (a) material prepared by a single writer or artist that appears simultaneously in many papers; (b) the columns by such writers as Westbrook Pegler and George Fielding Eliot; (c) columns given over to local news.
2. The term "theological" usually refers to: (a) theology; (b) religion; (c) materialism.
3. The "social gospel" is concerned largely with: (a) improving living conditions; (b) the spiritual aspects of religious activity; (c) sociological problems.
4. Junior colleges: (a) usually provide instruction extending only two years beyond the high school level; (b) are the small colleges; (c) are institutions that take the place of the upper high school grades.

Do You Know the Facts?

B. Each of the groups below is concerned with one or more trends or developments apparent in American life in the earlier 1900's. Place an x in the parentheses in front of each item that indicates the nature of the stated trend or development.

1. The Machine Age tended to standardize the habits and customs of the American people:
   - a. ( ) Chain stores; nation-wide radio programs.
   - b. ( ) Syndicated newspaper matter.
   - c. ( ) Growth in population.
   - d. ( ) Commercialized, professionalized sport.
2. Rural and urban areas and population were brought more closely together:
   - a. ( ) Methods of communication were improved.

b. ( ) Agriculture became increasingly mechanized.
c. ( ) Transportation facilities were improved.
d. ( ) Mail order houses and parcel post.

3. The earlier 1900's were marked by reform movements:
a. ( ) In 1900, in certain states, 160 infants out of every 1000 died.
b. ( ) Development of the trusts aroused fears of economic empires.
c. ( ) The muckrakers led the attack on big business and political corruption.
d. ( ) Child labor legislation increased.

4. There was great change in the status of women:
a. ( ) Labor-saving devices gave women more spare time.
b. ( ) Families and dwellings tended to be smaller in size.
c. ( ) Many new vocational fields were opened to women.
d. ( ) Women's clubs grew rapidly.

5. There was greater recognition of the need for social betterment:
a. ( ) The end of the frontier had been reached.
b. ( ) Religious denominations widened their social service programs.
c. ( ) Facilities for constructive recreation for younger children and adolescents were improved.
d. ( ) Health inspection and education programs spread in the public schools.

6. The public school system was reorganized:
a. ( ) The junior high school was introduced.
b. ( ) John Dewey's philosophy of realism in education had profound influence.
c. ( ) Democracy cannot be successful unless voters are educated.
d. ( ) Educational and vocational guidance were provided school students.

7. Romanticism in the arts and literature gave place to realism:
a. ( ) Edgar Lee Masters, Carl Sandburg and other poets pictured life as they saw it.
b. ( ) George Grey Barnard emphasized Lincoln's ruggedness.
c. ( ) Many historical novels were written in the earlier 1900's.
d. ( ) The works of Frank Norris and Upton Sinclair were widely read.

8. Great scientific developments were made:
a. ( ) The span of life of the average person was lengthened.
b. ( ) Many large research organizations were established.
c. ( ) New metals were discovered and chemists developed many plastics.
d. ( ) Control of the spread of many contagious diseases was improved greatly.

Can You Use What You Have Learned?

C. Below is a list of items concerning American life during the 1900's. Some are items concerned primarily with organized social improvement. Others are items that may or may not have contributed to social betterment. Underscore the items primarily concerned with organized social improvement at that time.

1. The Machine Age has brought many material improvements into our lives.
2. By 1915 over 400 cities were maintaining more than 3000 playgrounds.
3. The earlier 1900's were marked by many vigorous reform movements.
4. The farmer became more of an engineer and less of a manual worker.
5. Organizations such as the Boy Scouts and the Girl Scouts began during these years.
6. High school enrollment multiplied more than ten times between 1900 and 1934.
7. A new America was appearing in the earlier years of this century.
8. By 1940 more than half our population was living in urban communities consisting of cities of 8000 or more people.
9. One of the new professions created indirectly by the Machine Age is settlement or social work.
10. Medical science made many important advances.

Summarizing Exercise

D. Match the following items in the right-hand column with their proper choices in the left-hand column. To do this, insert the number or numbers of choices in the parentheses in front of the proper item or items. Each item should be matched with two choices.

CHOICES

1. Literature
2. Social Improvement
3. Education
4. Religion
5. Science, including Medicine

ITEMS

a. (   ) Muckrakers
b. (   ) John Dewey
c. (   ) Jack London
d. (   ) Walter Reed
e. (   ) Upton Sinclair
f. (   ) Edward L. Trudeau
g. (   ) Sinclair Lewis
h. (   ) Y.M.C.A.
i. (   ) Vocational guidance
j. (   ) The "Social Gospel"

Correspondence or Class Assignments

E. See general instructions under this heading, p. vi.

1. Describe how life and times in the United States since the earlier 1900's have been affected by: (a) realism in literature; (b) standardized products of many types; (c) motion pictures and the radio.

2. Give an account of free public education in the United States today touching upon: (a) its general purpose; (b) growth since about 1900; (c) changing nature of the program of studies.
3. Mention three reform movements that were evident during the earlier 1900's and describe: (a) the conditions that gave rise to one of these movements; (b) to what extent that movement attained its objective; (c) what further steps should be taken, if any, toward further reform in this area.

Suggested Readings

Textbooks:

Some general readings on "America Comes of Age" are: F. L. Allen, *Only Yesterday* and *Since Yesterday*; H. U. Faulkner, *American Political and Social History*, chaps. xxxiv, xxxviii, xxxix; and M. Sullivan, *Our Times*, I-VI. An excellent study of American life during the present century is: R. S. Lynd and H. M. Lynd, *Middletown* and *Middletown in Transition.*

Novels:

There is a great quantity of fiction concerning life and times in the United States since the beginning of this century. Among such books are three novels by Sinclair Lewis, *Main Street, Babbitt,* and *Arrowsmith.* F. Norris, *The Pit* and *The Octopus*, U. Sinclair, *The Jungle,* and J. London, *The Iron Heel*, all were novels that brought out some of the evil practices of big business. W. Churchill, *A Far Country*, describes the career of a young man who rose to prominence as a corporation lawyer.

CHAPTER V

Social Strains and Stresses

RAPID CHANGES HAVE CREATED PERPLEXING SOCIAL PROBLEMS

1. America's Social Trends. The economic collapse and what to do about it was not the only problem confronting the American people in recent years. Epoch-making events, of which the First World War and the Great Depression were but the most far-reaching in their effects, made the first third of the twentieth century one of the most significant periods in our history and also one of the most difficult to appraise.

A realization of this led President Hoover in 1929 to appoint a Research Committee on Social Trends. Reporting four years later this committee had no difficulty in putting its finger on the great problems confronting the nation as it entered the second third of the twentieth century. Said the committee:

> Even a casual glance at some of these points of tension in our national life reveals a wide range of puzzling questions. Imperialism, peace or war, international relations, urbanism, trusts and mergers, crime and its prevention, taxation, social insurance, the plight of agriculture, foreign and domestic markets, governmental regulation of industry, shifting moral standards, new leadership in business and government, the status of womankind, labor, child training, mental hygiene, the future of democracy and capitalism, the reorganization of our governmental units, the use of leisure time, public and private medicine, better homes and standards of living—all of these and many others, for these are only samples taken from a long series of grave questions, demand attention if we are not to drift into zones of danger. Demagogues, statesmen, savants and propagandists have attacked these problems, but usually from the point of view of some limited interest. Records and information have been and still are incomplete and often inconclusive.

While it is impossible because of space to deal in detail with all of the topics suggested in this paragraph of the committee's report, a number of them have been discussed in a general manner in earlier chapters in this book and in earlier books in this series of courses. Others will be taken up in this and in Chapter XI. Of the various problems which disturbed the nation during the decade of the 'twenties none was more insistent than that of indifference to law. This was particularly evident in the opposition to Amendment XVIII which again made historians ponder the question as to whether indifference to law is a national trait.

Many in Europe and America have long held that we are a lawless people and have insisted that crime is more prevalent in the United States than in other civilized nations. Some have attributed this situation to the inability of our poilce and judicial systems to cope with the problem; others have laid it to political corruption; others have insisted that in a young and rapidly growing nation lawlessness is a normal condition. Historians find it easy to point to unpopular laws that have been consistently evaded throughout our history—the Navigation Laws of England during the colonial period, the federal law of 1808 forbidding the importation of slaves, the fugitive slave law, and the many acts governing the disposal of public land. They call attention to the continuous efforts to avoid the provisions of the Interstate Commerce Acts and the Anti-Trust Laws, and above all else they point to the widespread violation of the Volstead Act which had been passed to enforce the Prohibition Amendment.

REPORTS OF THE WICKERSHAM COMMISSION. It was, in fact, this widespread violation of the Volstead Act (*III, 10*) which particularly directed the attention of the nation during the 1920's to the problem of lawlessness. How Amendment XVIII was evaded by smuggling, bootlegging, illegal manufacturing and diversion of medicinal spirits was generally known. So widely was the wisdom of the amendment questioned by the time of the campaign of 1928, that after his election President Hoover appointed a National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement (Wickersham Commission) to study the problem of law evasion.

Although this commission made certain recommendations for the better enforcement of the Volstead Act, its work in this connection was not important. In the next administration Amendment XVIII was repealed, and the nation turned again to the older method of attacking the liquor problem chiefly by state and local control and by education. Other reports of the commission, however, dealt with various phases of lawlessness and the handling of crime which were of tremendous interest. One report pointed out that there were no adequate statistics on the prevalence of crime and suggested that a bureau should be established to collect them. Prosecution of criminals, said another report, was hampered by petty politics and patronage. The enforcement of the deportation laws, said still another, presented a record of "dark age cruelty." Other reports pointed to the lack of proper federal machinery to deal with the child offender, to the congested condition of the federal courts, and to the fact that criminal procedure in both state and federal courts was old-fashioned and ruled by politics.

Still other studies noted the unscientific methods still existing with regard to penal institutions, probation and parole, to the existence of inhuman third degree methods, to the nation's annual bill for law enforcement running well over $1,000,000,000, and to the fact that the underlying factors in the present era of lawlessness were too diverse to permit a simple explanation. The commission also cleared the foreign born of responsibility for any unusual share of the crime committed in the country. Although few of the commission's recommendations were adopted, its reports presented a valuable picture of the problems of lawlessness and law enforcement as they existed in the post-war decade.

2. **Control of Crime.** The lawyer commonly thinks of crime as a violation or neglect of legal duty, while the sociologist usually thinks of it as the commission of an anti-social act condemned by the opinion of the majority as expressed in the law. Concerning crime in the United States two statements are frequently made: (1) that America is the most lawless country on earth, and (2) that the decade of the 'twenties saw a great crime wave sweep the nation. For the first of these contentions there seems to be much basis in fact, because statistics amply prove that the proportion of homicides (killings) to the population is much higher in America than in Europe. But there is little to prove the truth of the second charge, for in the *Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends* (1933) the statement is made that

> no support is found for the belief that an immense crime wave has engulfed the United States. The number of arrests and of court cases per 100,000 population increased moderately from 1900 to 1930, . . . with a tendency to rise more rapidly after 1920 than before. A large part, however, of the increase in the last decade is explained by traffic cases, which increased at approximately the same rate as automobile registrations.

It should be added that liquor violations during the prohibition era also added to the number of cases brought before the courts.

Nevertheless, it must be admitted that organization among criminals reached a higher point than ever before. To evade successfully the prohibition acts required close coöperation and large expenditures. Crime became big business. When it was discovered how much easier it was to commit crime through efficient organizations, "rackets" of various kinds were started. By threats of destruction of property, loss of a job or physical injury, tribute was exacted in many lines of business. Racketeering of the type so common in the 'twenties has declined, but the cost of crime and law enforcement runs into billions of dollars a year.

GIRLS CO

At the same time, the scientific interest in the causes, cure and control of crime and in the handling of criminals has never been greater than at present. Psychology, medicine and other sciences are making contributions, as are workers in the field of social welfare.

3. **Racial and National Frictions.** Americans have always loved to think of their country as a place where all may have an equal opportunity and where tolerance is extended to everyone. In spite of this ideal, intolerance among the racial and national groups who make up our varied population has by no means ceased. The same opposition to "foreigners," exemplified in earlier years in the Know-Nothing party, crops up now and again, although it was less intensive during the 1930's than in earlier periods. The decline may be due in part to the radical restriction of immigration which has cut to a minimum the flow of aliens to our shores. The immediate problem is that of establishing a tolerant attitude among the national groups already here—and especially between the races, white and colored—which will tend to the betterment of all.

There have been some friction and intolerance between various branches of the white race—for example, between Jews and Gentiles—but the friction has been in no way as intense as that between the white and colored races. The census of 1930 showed the population of the principal colored races in continental United States as follows: Negro 11,891,000; Mexican (Indian or part Indian), 1,423,000; Indian, 332,000; Japanese, 139,000; Chinese, 75,000; and Filipino, 45,000. For all of these groups, with the exception of the Negro, the percentage of increase during the 1920's was greater than that for the white; but the Negro race, nevertheless, appears to have increased more rapidly than in earlier decades. All of these colored races except the Indians came or were brought here to supply the need for cheap labor.

Causes of Friction. Racial prejudice, like that between nationalities, is not new in American history. It was seen in the agitation for the restriction of Chinese and Japanese immigration, and again in the friction resulting from the effort of northern fanatics and Republican politicians to push Negro suffrage prematurely upon the South. Racial feeling seems to be based primarily upon two factors, social fear and economic competition. By social fear we mean the fear of the whites that, through a mingling of blood or by weight of numbers of a colored race, white civilization will give way to the colored. This feeling is keen in certain sections of the South where the Negro race predominates.

Economic competition is undoubtedly at the root of much racial prejudice, just as it has been a major cause of friction between national groups. Such groups as the Japanese, coming here with their lower standard of living, have been able to compete successfully in the economic world. Racial feeling is in no way confined to the South. It may be seen in the West in the attitude toward Orientals, and in the North in the feeling toward the Negro since the recent northward migration of that race. The United States is primarily a white nation. When it is realized, however, that one-tenth of our population is colored and that these colored people are here to stay, it is clear that the problem of proper racial attitudes and contacts cannot be dodged. That a spirit of coöperation and tolerance should exist in times of great national crises is particularly necessary.

THE AMERICAN HOME IS A CHANGING INSTITUTION

4. Changing Status of Women. Our economic and social life has been affected in many ways by the Industrial Revolution, but in no way more so than in the change of millions of women from home-workers to wage earners. Although the growing economic independence of women was undoubtedly beneficial in raising their general status, it was not purchased without some cost. The wages of women as a whole were extremely low, and much of the work was so hard as to imperil the future of the race. Certainly the strain of following two careers, that of homemaker and that of wage earner, was too great for the average woman.

Just what would happen to the home under these circumstances was a problem to which sociologists gave serious attention, because the American home changed with the changing status of women. With the growth of cities (also a result of the Industrial Revolution) the home grew smaller, all kinds of new home equipment were introduced to make the work of the housewife easier, and the birth rate declined. For many families the home or apartment became a place merely to sleep in rather than to live in, for the parents spent their working hours away from home and the children spent theirs in school. Under such conditions the home tended to decline in social importance just as it had earlier declined in economic importance.

The world crises of the past quarter of a century have also contributed to the changing status of women. Women as well as men were required during the First World War to make unusual sacrifices. Large numbers left their homes to take the places in industry and in other work made vacant by men serving in the army. The adoption of the woman suffrage amendment in 1920 was in part a recognition of that service. With the coming of the Second World War and the necessity in this country of great efforts for national defense it was clear that women would again play a rôle similar to that in the earlier struggle.

5. **New Educational Responsibilities.** One result of the changing status of women and the declining importance of the home has been the transfer of many educational functions from the home to the school or to some other outside agency. The twentieth-century school is expected not only to teach the fundamentals of reading, writing and arithmetic and to prepare some children for college, but also to furnish instruction in the laws of health, guidance in the formation of proper habits, moral training, and even direction in recreational activities. This is particularly true of the city schools, but it is a tremendous responsibility to throw upon the shoulders of oftentimes inexperienced teachers.

Press Association, Inc.

FIRST WOMAN CABINET MEMBER

Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins with William S. Knudsen (left), former Director General of the Office of Production Management, and Sidney Hillman (right), Associate Director, leaving the White House after a conference with the President.

The parochial schools—Jewish, Catholic and Protestant—have the extra responsibility of religious instruction. Nor has the transfer of home responsibilities ended here. In some schools, medical and even dental inspection is provided. All kinds of recreational facilities have been developed away from the home—city playgrounds under trained supervisors and supported by public taxes, summer camps both public and private, the Boy Scout and Girl Scout movements, and the 4-H Clubs, to name but a few.

RESPONSE OF EDUCATION. Although many have deplored the departure from the home of so many educational functions, the tendency has not lacked warm supporters. Many parents may be too busy to give time or inadequately equipped to train their children wisely. A half-century of scientific research has made it evident that education is both an art and a science, a profession for trained experts. The responsibility has been thrown upon the school systems of offering this added instruction and also of providing a staff acquainted with what science has revealed in the fields of psychology and education.

Inadequate as our school system may still be to perform this task, it has risen nobly to the challenge. Important architectural advances have been made in school buildings, great efforts have been made to provide recreational facilities, the educational standards for teachers have been raised, and in the universities and teachers colleges incessant research in educational problems is being carried on. This improvement is also to be seen in the rural schools, for improved roads and the automobile have made it possible to consolidate many of the little one-room schools into larger and better-equipped units. Only the American faith in education and the willingness of the taxpayer to do his share have made this advance possible.

Another responsibility of increasing importance which has been added to our school system is that of adult education. In earlier years this was thought of as a private matter, and something to be paid for by the individual. Recently there has been pressure for the public school system also to supply adult education in evening classes. Concerned at first largely with classes where recent immigrants might learn English and the fundamentals of American citizenship, the movement for adult education has widened to include many kinds of subjects, and to be participated in by private and state universities as well as by secondary schools. A particularly interesting development since the First World War has been that of public forums where citizens may participate in discussions of political, economic and social problems, and where the resulting clash of ideas provides valuable training for a democracy.

With the coming of the national defense emergency the whole program of adult education has been greatly enlarged. Through the coöperation of local, state and federal governments courses have been established to prepare men and women for defense jobs. Some of these are "refresher" courses for older men who may have been unemployed or

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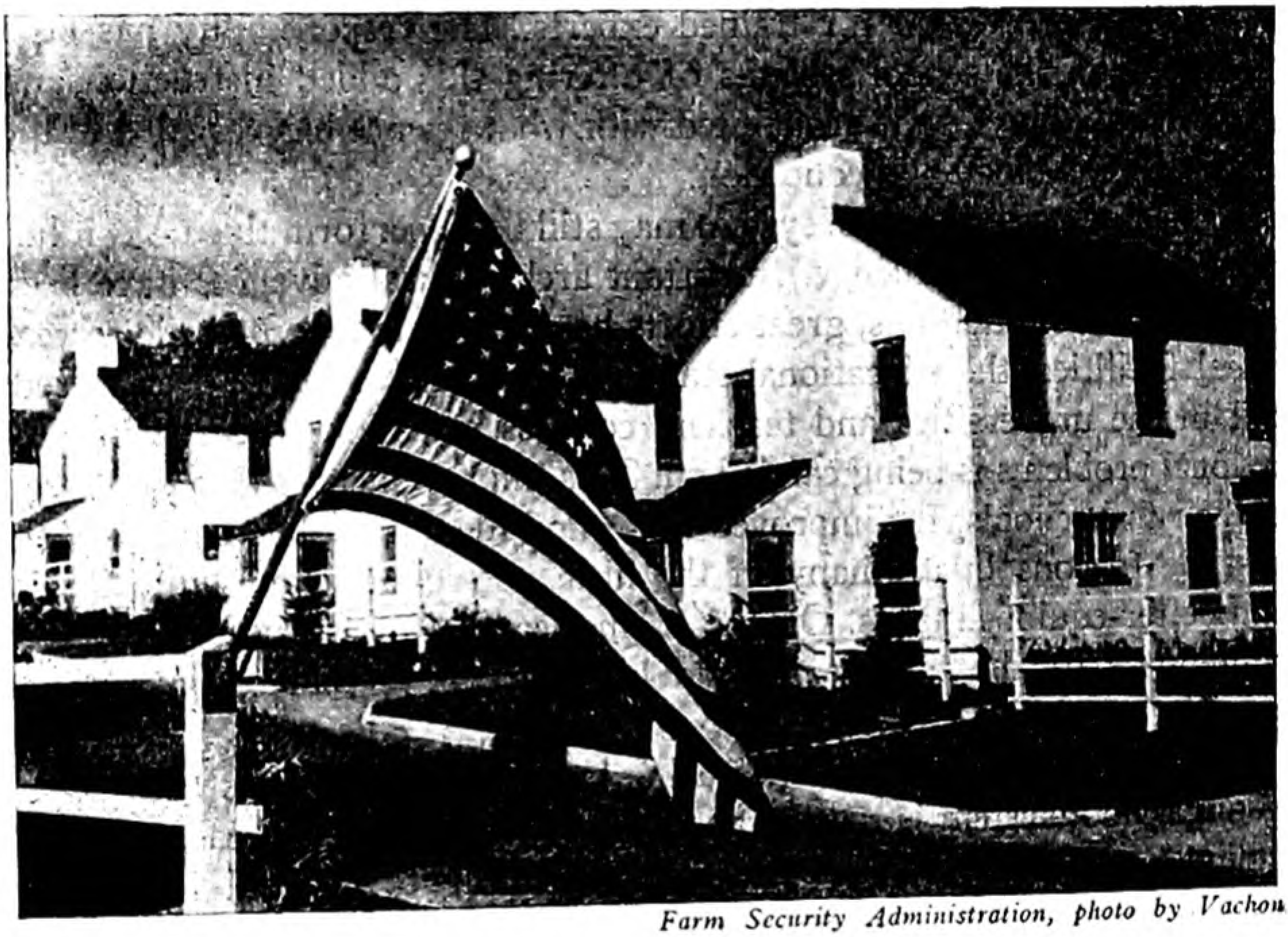


Farm Security Administration, photo by Vachon

HOUSING PROJECT

Labor Day at Greendale, Wisconsin (1929), a federal government housing project near Milwaukee.

6. Better Housing. The problem of housing has always been a matter of community interest, but this concern has rarely gone further than minimum regulations regarding safe construction and sanitation. The minimums have often been so low or so inadequately enforced that our cities have usually been cluttered with slum districts not fit for human habitation. With the coming of the depression the whole problem of housing became more acute. During the 1920's 700,000 family units were built each year; during 1933 and 1934 only 60,000 were constructed. Not only was construction falling behind ordinary needs, but existing dwellings were falling into a state of disrepair. With wages declining and unemployment increasing, thousands of home owners were unable to meet their mortgage payments and were losing their houses. As early as 1932 under the Hoover administration a beginning was made to meet this serious problem with the Home Loan Bank Act which established federal banks to lend to private banks and building and loan associations on real estate mortgages.

A succession of acts under the Roosevelt administration carried on this program. Of particular importance was the Home Owners Loan Act of 1934. This act established a federal corporation to grant long-term mortgage loans at low interest rates to those in need of funds to save or recover their homes when they were unable to obtain money through other means. The lending activities of this corporation lasted for three years and were then taken over by the Federal Housing Administration. The last named body also insured banks against losses from loans on real estate.

The federal government was interested not alone in saving homes, but also in promoting home building and in attacking the slum problem. The Public Works Administration made loans to several corporations to build decent dwellings for low-income families and undertook direct construction of 51 projects in 41 localities. To speed this program the Wagner-Steagall Housing Act of 1937 established a United States Housing Authority with power to make loans and contributions for slum clearance and the building of low-rent houses. The Housing Authority was allowed to lend up to $800,000,000 in housing projects with a limit of $4,000 for a family dwelling in cities with a population up to 500,000 and a $5,000 limit for cities above that population. The loans and the construction were to be done in coöperation with local public housing agencies.

By the middle of 1940 the USHA had made contracts for the construction of over 400 housing projects containing almost 150,000 homes. When it is remembered that one-third of the nation is poorly housed, the work of the PWA and later of the USHA seems but a tiny beginning. Nevertheless, it is a start in the right direction. Moreover, it has stimulated private interests to build new housing projects in slum areas. The USHA has also made contributions to national defense by directing some of its funds to housing projects near defense industries.

7. The Battle for a Better Race. The struggle for a better race continues on many fronts. It is concerned with the problem of better economic organization, the raising of the standard of living and the elimination of poverty. It is also concerned with the reduction of crime, the ending of intolerance and the changing position of woman. More immediately, however, it is affected by the question of health and proper medical care. Medical science has made astonishing progress in the past half-century. Many diseases, such as yellow fever, typhoid fever, smallpox, cholera, typhus and bubonic plague, have been eliminated or reduced to a minimum in the United States, and striking progress has been made in the cure of other diseases. Medical research is continually at work in the fields of both preventive and curative medicine. An example is the notable work in recent years on vitamins. Especially important advances have been made in counteracting the diseases of infancy, so that in the past quarter-century the average span of life has increased by ten years.

Courtesy Wm. Frange

COLUMBIA-PRESBYTERIAN MEDICAL CENTER

In 1919 Columbia University and the Presbyterian Hospital agreed to coördinate their medical facilities. The new buildings, completed in 1928, comprise numerous clinics, laboratories and hospitals, including the New York State Psychiatric Institution and Hospital, the whole excellently representing the recent tendency toward medical centralization and coördination.

In spite of this wonderful advance, much remains to be done. Recent studies estimate that on the average every man has one disabling illness a year, keeping him in bed from seven to nine days; that every woman on the average has two such illnesses, which together keep her in bed between eight and twelve days; that at any given time 700,000 persons are affected with tuberculosis, that cancer takes nearly 120,000 lives a year and diseases of infancy nearly 136,000. Much of all this, they point out, is preventable.

> A considerable proportion of the people [says one eminent authority] are still suffering from a multitude of preventable defects, disabling diseases and minor ailments. An unnecessary toll of millions of dollars is imposed upon the nation annually, thousands of human beings are needlessly destroyed and there is widespread suffering, inefficiency and disability. Though knowledge is at hand to prevent much of this suffering and premature death, it is not being fully utilized. Human life in this country is wasted quite as recklessly and continuously, quite as surely, in times of peace as in times of war.

In dealing with the question as to why science has not been more adequately used, certain answers present themselves. In the first place, too much emphasis is laid on curative medicine and not enough on preventive medicine. Only 1.4 per cent of the annual medical expenditure of over $3,600,000,000 goes for preventive medicine. Secondly, the average person has an indifferent attitude toward his ailments until too late to deal effectively with them. Then he handicaps himself by using inferior types of treatment or medicines. Furthermore, the whole problem of public health is affected by the unequal geographical distribution of medical facilities and by the inequitable distribution of wealth. Medicine (including dentistry) is still largely individualistic, and the medical attention which one gets is largely dependent upon the prosperity of his community and the size of his own pocketbook. Those with small incomes inevitably suffer under such a system.

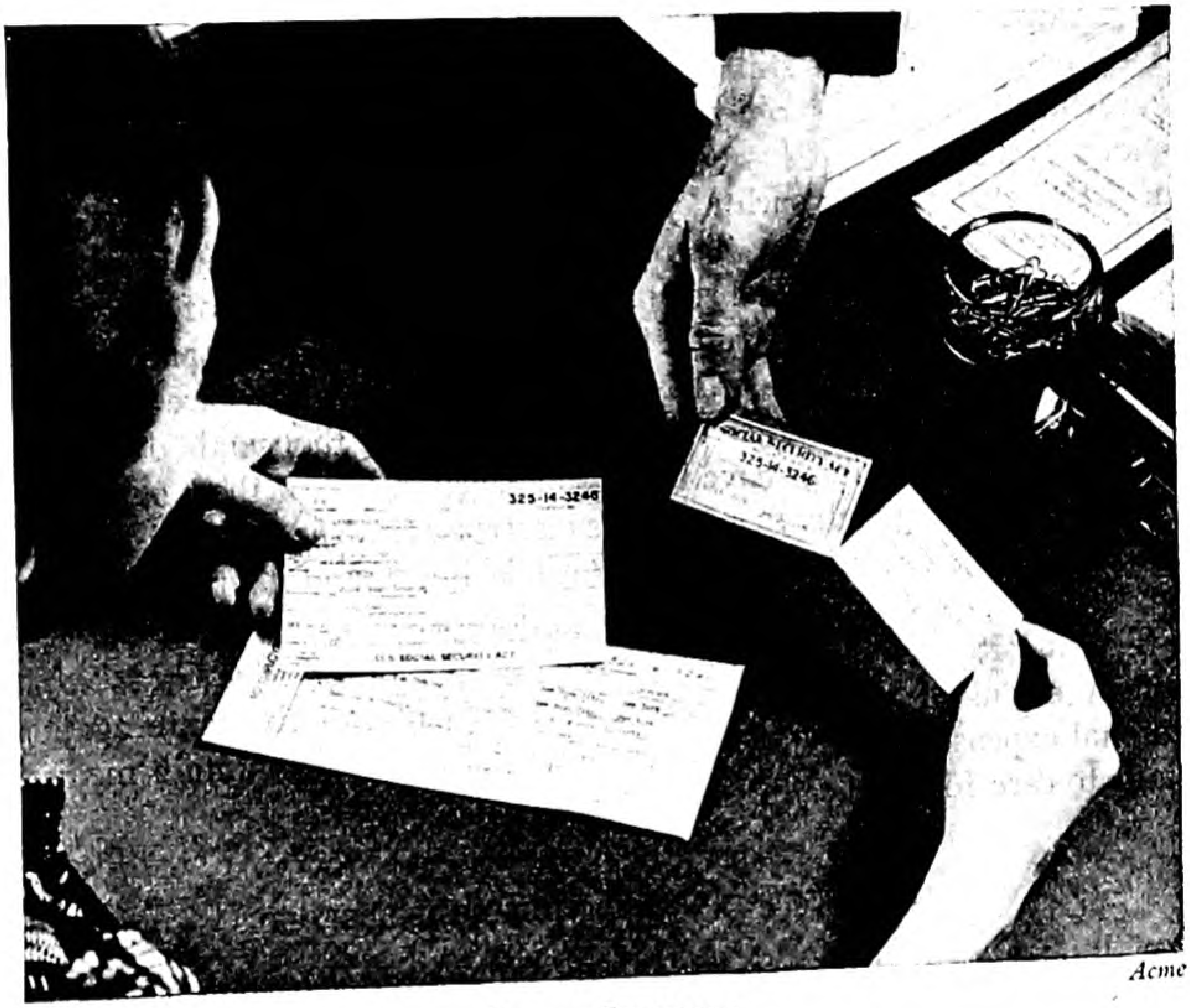
SOCIALIZED MEDICINE. To counteract this situation federal and state bodies are busy with medical research and with the problem of protecting public health. Examples of public health protection are dental and medical examination of school children. Nine-tenths of the hospitals are now conducted on a cost basis rather than for profit, while thousands of clinics, hospitals and sanitariums have been established, many of them supported by public funds. Recently there has been a strong tendency toward "group-medicine"—the centralization of medical facilities, and a strong demand for "group-payment" by insurance, taxation or both.

Typical of group insurance is the rapidly spreading "Blue Cross" system by means of which it is possible at a small cost to insure against hospital expenses. Moreover, many industrial concerns maintain medical staffs to care for the health of employees

THE QUEST FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE IS SPEEDED

8. Social Security, State and Federal. Of the various forms of social security, unemployment insurance and old-age pensions have in recent years aroused the most interest. In the boom years of the 'twenties they made little progress, and their advocates were like voices crying in the wilderness; but two or three years of depression changed the general attitude. It was eventually conceded by most people that such legislation was inevitable. Up to the end of 1934 only one state, Wisconsin, had passed an Unemployment Insurance Act, but by the end of 1937 all 48 states with Alaska, Hawaii and the District of Columbia had some kind of unemployment insurance.

In the Social Security Act of 1935, the Federal Government had sought to promote such insurance by providing for a federal-state system of unemployment compensation through laws passed by the states. The money was to be largely obtained by a payroll-excise tax on employers collected by the federal government and repaid to the states. More rapid progress had been made with old-age pension schemes. By 1934 at least 29 states had some type of old-age pension law of which ten were passed in 1933 and two (Pennsylvania and Iowa) in 1934. With the passing of the Social Security Act it became necessary for all states desiring to participate to pass authorizing legislation.



Acme

SOCIAL SECURITY

A worker getting a Social Security number after filing application.

Probably no legislation has ever been passed in this country more important to the interests of the masses of the people than the Social Security Act of 1935. Its object "is to make life more secure for individuals and their families." As amended in 1939 the act provided for a system of benefits to needy persons over 65 years of age. Federal grants were to be matched with grants from the states on a fifty-fifty basis but the federal government's share in no case would exceed $20 a month. A more important feature of the law provided for a contributory old-age pension system. This would be paid for by an income tax on employees and a payroll tax on employers, beginning with one per cent in 1937 and rising gradually until 1949 when the contribution from both would be 3 per cent. The monthly pension was expected to range between $10 and $85 depending on wages earned between January, 1937 and the date when the worker became 65. Although certain groups of workers are not protected by this law, such as agricultural labor, domestic servants, government employees, and workers in educational institutions, the coverage of the act was wide. By the end of 1940 wage record accounts had been established for approximately 50,000,000 persons.

Important as was the Social Security Act in promoting old-age insurance for workers, it was by no means the only step of this kind taken by the federal government. By agreement with the railroads in 1937 the government took over various pension schemes already in operation and assumed responsibility for administering a railroad pension plan. Funds were to come from contributions by both management and workers and would provide pensions up to a maximum of $120 a month.

In addition to the old-age pension and the unemployment insurance features, the Social Security Act carried appropriations for needy dependent children; for the promotion of the health of mothers and children in areas suffering severe economic distress; for medical, surgical and corrective services for crippled children; for homeless and neglected children; for the vocational re-building of the physically disabled and the aid of the needy blind; and finally, for adequate public health services.

9. Child Labor Restriction. The depression likewise revived interest in the proposed Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution. After two federal child labor laws had been declared unconstitutional Congress in 1924 submitted to the states an amendment which would give Congress "power to limit, regulate and prohibit the labor of persons under 18 years of age." For almost a decade the proposed amendment received but little attention; only six states had ratified by the end of 1932. Suddenly interest was revived. Fourteen states ratified in 1933, four in 1935 and four more in 1937. By the end of 1941 28 states had ratified.

Despite new interest in the child labor amendment, it was by no means certain that it would be ratified. Therefore, efforts were made to accomplish the same result in other ways. Provisions banning child labor appeared in the codes of the NIRA. Child labor was also banned under the Walsh-Healey Government Contracts Act. Finally the Fair Labor Standards Act provided that "no producer, manufacturer or dealer shall ship or deliver for shipment in commerce any goods produced in an establishment in the United States in or about which . . . any oppressive child labor has been employed." With minor exceptions "oppressive" is defined as employment of children under 16 years of age or employment of persons between 16 and 18 in dangerous occupations. Since the constitutionality of this provision was upheld in 1941, child labor in industry may be ended whether the child labor amendment is ratified or not.

10. The Aroused Consumer. Every person is a consumer of agricultural and manufactured products. His personal interests may clash with those of his fellow citizens in a dozen ways, but there is a common ground upon which all can get together—their interests as consumers. Strangely enough, however, while farmers, manufacturers, laborers, newspapers and advertisers are all organized to present their points of view, the consumer as such has been largely unorganized and silent.

This situation has changed rapidly in the last few years. Two factors in particular have tended to arouse the consumer to increased activity to protect his own interests. The first was the revival of business consolidation during the 'twenties which weakened his position. This took the form not only of actual consolidation but of the rapid growth of trade associations whose purpose was primarily to unify and protect the interests of manufacturers. In other words, the anti-trust acts had proved a failure in preventing monopoly, and the consumer had been forced to take other action. Almost all interests have powerful legislative lobbies except the consumer. A second factor is the highly technical and scientific aspect of modern economic life. Skilled technicians and scientists are the backbone of modern production, and only skilled technicians and scientists are qualified to judge most of the products of modern industry. The average consumer is incapable of buying intelligently and scientifically and his efforts to do so are weakened by high pressure advertising and salesmanship.

CONSUMER ACTION. In a situation of this kind at least two things can be done. One is to demand that the government contribute its resources to aid the consumer. The second is to develop consumer organizations which will hire scientists as advisors and exert pressure upon producers, wholesalers and retailers to keep prices as low as possible. That the government, itself, has long felt the need of protecting itself as a large-scale purchaser is seen in the Bureau of Standards of the Department of Commerce, established in 1901. As one of America's great scientific research organizations it not only renders aid to private industry but sets technical standards upon which the federal government may make its purchases.

It is in the field of public health that the federal, state and municipal governments have made their first and greatest contribution to consumer needs. Outstanding examples of this are the famous Meat Inspection and the Pure Food and Drug Acts of 1906. The last named act was extended by the Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act (1938). This legislation gave the government greater power to set standards and required that new drugs be adequately tested before being placed on the market. The prohibition against misbranding or adulterating foods and drugs entering interstate commerce was extended to cover cosmetics. Thus through the Department of Agriculture and through the Food and Drug Administration, much has been done to promote higher standards for the meat, canning, food, drug and cosmetics industries.

Although the consumers have done something in supporting their own research organizations, their chief activity has been in the field of sellers' and buyers' coöperatives. Consumers' coöperatives, which have had an extraordinary development in Great Britain and the Scandinavian nations, had made little headway in this country until the early 'thirties, except in one field. The farmers, at the mercy of middlemen, food processors and manufacturers, had early learned the strength which came from organization for coöperative selling. So necessary did this seem that the federal government in various ways has encouraged these farmers' coöperatives. The Agricultural Marketing Act of 1929 sought primarily through this means to aid the farmers. The appropriation under this act of $500,000,000 was to be used largely to finance coöperatives.

The difficult days of the depression, followed by rising prices as the nation moved into better times, gave impetus to the rapid development which came after 1932. Although the coöperatives which sprang up were of all varieties, including coöperative credit banks, most of them were buyers' organizations. How far this movement will go, it is impossible to say, but it has done much to develop consumer consciousness and more critical buying. The Roosevelt administration recognized the interests of consumers by adding representatives of the consumers to several of the New Deal organizations. There was, for example, a Consumers' Advisory Board established for the NRA and a Consumers' Counsel provided for in the Bituminous Coal Act of 1937. A Consumers' Counsel Division under the Director of Marketing of the Department of Agriculture renders special services to the consumer, including the publishing of the *Consumers' Guide*. The Bureau of Standards often aids consumers as well as the government. Finally, when the great problem of national defense became urgent and the President appointed his Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, he provided for two divisions, one on price stabilization and one on consumer protection (*XI, 15*).

11. Our Social Problems. Although the primary task of the human race has always been that of attaining a livelihood, it is but the first of man's problems. There is always the question of the kind of society in which he desires to live. Attention has been given in this chapter to but a few of the important social problems confronting the citizens of twentieth-century America—the liquor problem, crime, racial friction, the changing home, the changing school, the health of the people and the problem of the consumer. Although the discussion has been necessarily brief, enough has been said to indicate the complexities of each problem. The goal to be attained is sometimes clear, but the roads by which it can be reached are seldom obvious. In the science of social behavior the world is the laboratory, and each generation must carry on its own experiments toward a better civilization.

12. **The Influence of Europe.** Through the centuries American life and thought have been dominated primarily by two factors, the heritage of Europe and the influence of the American environment. Both influences have been continuous. From Europe the settlers brought with them all that they knew of religion, of government, of art and of ways of living. Their intellectual stimulus came for many years from the homeland as new immigrants sought our shores and as the learning of Europe found its way to America. Our chief contribution in the colonial period was in the field of theology; our political, economic and educational thought was chiefly dependent upon the writings of Europeans. The political ideas in the Declaration of Independence were but a restating of the thought of English political writers.

As the years went on, Americans began to make their contributions not only in theology, but in science and art. The world of the mind, however, takes no account of territorial boundaries, and American thought merged with that of Europe, just as the intellectual life of Europe merged with that of America. European leadership in the fine arts has always been acknowledged, but never in our history have we been more free to borrow from Europe than during the present century. Europe preceded us in scientific city government, direct legislation, woman suffrage and other forms of the new democracy. From Europe we learned of the parcels post, postage savings banks, workmen's compensation, the income tax, scientific banking and government control of business. Europe preceded us in social legislation just as she did with gasoline engines and modernistic art. These and many other contributions mark the "transit" from an older to a newer civilization.

13. **The Influence of America.** In spite of all this, American life never was and never can be a mere reproduction of the life of Europe. The first settlers found a different climate, a different soil and different resources from those which they had left; and almost immediately their houses, their agriculture and their way of living began to vary from those which they had known at home. They might start with a govern-

ment based on European precedent and a charter from the king, but it was not long before they discovered that a new land demanded new ways. Their first colleges might be modeled after those of England, but it was not long before they were essentially different. Our poets might follow the literary forms in vogue in Europe, but the subjects about which they wrote soon came to be American. Europe might be the mother of America, but the child bore no close resemblance to the parent.

Although very different from Europe in her life and thought, America has made distinct contributions to world progress. In 1820 a famous English writer critically asked:

> In the four quarters of the globe, who reads an American book? or goes to an American play? or looks at an American picture or statue? What does the world yet owe to American physicians or surgeons? What new substances have their chemists discovered? What new constellations have been discovered by the telescopes of America? What have they done in mathematics? Who drinks out of American glasses? or eats from American plates? or wears American coats or gowns? or sleeps in American blankets?

A century later Americans could proudly say, "We have not only settled a continent and established a mighty nation, but we have pioneered in every field of intellectual effort and made important contributions to the world's store of knowledge."

Can You Use These Terms?

A. Underscore the phrases or expressions that correctly complete the following statements. There may be more than one correct response to a statement.

1. Acts that are anti-social are: (a) violations of the criminal code; (b) agitation for the passage of a law considered by many people to be undesirable; (c) sometimes thought to be desirable by certain individuals or groups.
2. A "racket" is: (a) a means of extortion; (b) the term given to criminal "big business" operations; (c) completely anti-social.
3. Sociologists are directly concerned with: (a) the forms and institutions of society; (b) the study of the mental behavior of people; (c) social problems.
4. Coöperatives are: (a) associations of people for the purpose of group buying and selling; (b) means whereby the "middle men" are eliminated in the marketing of products; (c) illegal in the United States.

Do You Know the Facts?

B. Underscore the phrases or expressions that correctly complete the following statements. There may be more than one correct response to a statement.

1. During the years following the First World War our average annual bill for law enforcement was about: (a) $50,000,000; (b) $100,000,000; (c) $1,000,000,000.
2. During the decade of the 1920's there was: (a) widespread violation of the prohibition laws; (b) great growth in highly organized, large scale racketeering; (c) a widespread but false idea that an unusually large proportion of the criminals were foreign born.
3. According to studies made by the *President's Research Committee on Social Trends*: (a) there was a moderate increase of arrests and court cases between 1900 and 1930; (b) there was a crime wave of unusual proportions; (c) there was no great crime wave.
4. Colored persons make up about: (a) 5 per cent of our population; (b) 10 per cent of our population; (c) 20 per cent of our population.
5. Racial prejudice is: (a) new in American life having been stirred up by migrations of non-white elements in our population; (b) created by fear that whites will be subordinated by other races; (c) promoted by economic factors.
6. As a result of the Industrial Revolution: (a) American home life has lost some of its social significance; (b) increased numbers of women have found employment in business and industry; (c) much of the responsibility for the bringing up of children has been transferred from the home to the schools.
7. The fundamental purpose of the housing program started by the federal government during the 1930's was to: (a) provide employment; (b) stimulate the building industry; (c) provide adequate housing at comparatively low cost.
8. American medical science has not been fully utilized because: (a) it has tended to emphasize curative medicine rather than preventive medicine; (b) most people do not take advantage of preventive medicine; (c) medical services are unevenly distributed.
9. The Social Security Act, passed in Congress in the 1930's: (a) provides for joint state-federal old age assistance; (b) guaranteed jobs through its unemployment insurance; (c) established a system of state-federal unemployment payments.
10. Child labor in industry has been ended by the passage of the: (a) Fair Labor Standards Act; (b) Social Security Act; (c) Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution.
11. The consumer has been aided directly in more recent years by: (a) the Bureau of Standards; (b) establishment by groups of consumers of testing laboratories and agencies; (c) growth of coöperative buying organizations.

Can You Use What You Have Learned?

C. Below is a list of five so-called current problems that we have either not solved or that have reappeared in new forms. Accompanying each is a number *of statements with a blank line after each. If the part of the statement in italics is true, do not write anything on the blank line after the statement. If the portion of the statement in italics is false, write the correct answer on the blank line provided. Accompanying each problem is a conclusion. Underscore the expression or expressions that correctly complete the statement of the conclusion.*

1. The Liquor Problem:
   a. Repeal of Amendment XVIII places the liquor problem *in the hands of the state and local governments.* ____________
   b. Agitation for prohibition first began *before 1850.* ____________
   c. By 1919 there was state-wide prohibition in *12* states. ____________
   d. "Local option" was first being urged by the W.C.T.U. and the Anti-Saloon League in the *1830's.* ____________
   CONCLUSION: Repeal of Amendment XVIII: (a) has solved the liquor problem; (b) has not ended agitation for prohibition; (c) has not solved the liquor problem.
2. Crime:
   a. Imprisonment for debt and public executions were done away with by *about 1790.* ____________
   b. Our high crime rate is *not* caused by our large foreign population. ____________
   c. Scientific study of the causes and cures of crime has been *neglected* in recent years. ____________
   d. Unemployment and inadequate housing *encourage* crime. ____________
   e. Vocational, moral and social guidance programs in the schools *help to reduce crime.* ____________
   CONCLUSION: Crime can be reduced in the United States by: (a) more provision for social and economic betterment; (b) punishing criminals more severely; (c) scientific analysis of the causes and cures of crimes.
3. Racial Friction:
   a. Racial intolerance is *new* in American life. ____________
   b. *One-tenth* of our population consists of colored persons. ____________
   c. Since about 1900 there has been an *increase* in Negro population in the North. ____________
   d. Racial antagonisms or frictions are *less* noticeable in the United States than are conflicts between national groups. ____________
   CONCLUSION: The problem of racial intolerance may best be solved by: (a) subordinating racial minorities; (b) deporting undesirable aliens; (c) overcoming fear of economic competition between racial groups.
4. The Changing School:
   a. Free, tax-supported high schools became generally accepted during the *latter* 1800's. ____________
   b. The program and the range of studies provided by the schools *have changed* greatly particularly since the early 1900's. ____________

c. The changing home in the United States *has not* placed additional responsibility for the training of children upon the schools. ____________

d. Denominational schools and colleges *have not* an important place in American education. ____________

CONCLUSION: Free public education in the United States: (a) has been expanded and reorganized to meet the changing needs of American society; (b) costs taxpayers more money now because it provides more and wider services than in earlier years; (c) should confine itself to teaching the minimum essentials because those who want higher education should pay the costs themselves.

5. The Problem of the Consumer:

a. The anti-trust acts proved *difficult* to enforce. ____________

b. The consumer coöperative movement *has not* grown in recent years. ____________

c. The federal government *has not* aided the consumer. ____________

d. The growth of business consolidation and trade associations in the decade following the First World War made the consumers' problems *less* perplexing. ____________

CONCLUSION: In this age of large-scale production and standardized goods the consumer: (a) is entitled to some means of checking on the value of the products he buys; (b) finds it necessary to protect his own interests through organization; (c) gets ample protection through governmental agencies.

Summarizing Exercise

D. Underscore the items that are definite examples or specific illustrations of the general nature of the points brought out in this chapter.

1. During the 1930's one of the perplexing problems facing the American people was that of economic collapse.
2. Indifference to law was very evident during the 1920's.
3. The Wickersham Commission made a study of the problem of law evasion.
4. Organized crime, known as rackets, took millions of dollars out of American pockets.
5. Racial prejudice seems to be rooted in economic and social fears.
6. The home does not have as great a social influence upon children as in earlier years.
7. Upon the schools has fallen much of the burden of social and moral training.
8. In many areas the one-room schools have given place to central schools with better facilities and teachers.
9. Only 60,000 family dwelling units were built during 1933 and 1934.
10. The United States Housing Authority was established to promote construction of low-cost houses and for slum clearance.

11. Much progress has been made in medical science.
12. Less than 2 per cent of the nation's annual medical bill goes for preventive medicine.
13. Old-age pensions are provided for in the Social Security Act.
14. The consumer movement has gained ground.

Correspondence or Class Assignments

E. See general instructions under this heading, p. vi.

1. Among the serious domestic problems that confront the American people are: provision for adequate medical care, housing, and law enforcement. Select one of these three problems and: (a) explain the circumstances that have created the problem; (b) describe what measures have already been taken in an effort to solve the problem; and (c) make what recommendations or suggestions you have concerning future action with respect to this problem.
2. "Probably no legislation has ever been passed in this country more important to the interests of the masses of the people than the Social Security Act . . ." Discuss this statement touching upon: (a) conditions that gave rise to the passage of this law; (b) major provisions of the law.
3. Show how the nature and responsibilities of our public education system have widened during recent years touching upon: (a) the relation of the school program and the changing home; (b) the social and moral aspects of the school program; (c) reasons for increasing costs of educational services.

Suggested Readings

Textbooks:

For general readings about the United States during recent years consult: F. L. Allen, *Since Yesterday*; C. A. Beard, and M. R. Beard, *America In Midpassage*; H. U. Faulkner, *American Political and Social History*, chaps. xxxviii and xxxix; and R. S. and H. M. Lynd, *Middletown* and *Middletown in Transition.*

Novels:

Consult list at end of Chapter IV.

Half-Course Review and Self-Check

Are You Familiar With the Contributions of Leaders in the Development of American Social and Cultural Life?

A. In each of the following groups four persons are classified correctly and one is classified incorrectly. Cross out the name of the person incorrectly classified in each group and write his or her name on the blank line lettered f *in the classification in which the person most properly belongs.*

1. American Novelists:
   a, Edwin Arlington Robinson; b, Herman Melville; c, Nathaniel Hawthorne; d, Mark Twain; e, Theodore Dreiser; f, ______________.
2. American Poets:
   a, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow; b, Walt Whitman; c, James Russell Lowell; d, Louis Agassiz; e, Sidney Lanier; f, ______________.
3. American Newspaper Men:
   a, Joseph Pulitzer; b, Horace Greeley; c, Sinclair Lewis; d, James Gordon Bennett; e, William Randolph Hearst; f, ______________.
4. American Scientists:
   a, Charles Steinmetz; b, Thomas A. Edison; c, Samuel F. B. Morse; d, Elihu Burritt; e, Edward L. Trudeau; f, ______________.
5. American Educators:
   a, Charles W. Eliot; b, Henry Barnard; c, John Dewey; d, Henry J. Raymond; e, Horace Mann; f, ______________.
6. American Humanitarian Leaders:
   a, Jane Addams; b, Mary Lyon; c, Dorothea Dix; d, Samuel G. Howe; e, Neal Dow; f, ______________.

What Are Some of the More Important Steps in the Development of Our Social and Cultural Patterns?

B. In each of the following groups of trends or characteristics place the letter X in the parentheses in front of the item that represents the most dominant phase or factor in the development of the indicated trend or characteristic.

1. Over the years our population has gradually shifted from a largely rural one to one that is largely urban.
   a. (   ) Immigrants, particularly since the latter 1800's, have tended to settle in the larger towns and cities.

b. ( ) Improvements in sanitation, housing and means of transportation have enabled larger numbers of people to live in urban areas.
c. ( ) As the factory system expanded, ever-increasing numbers of workers were needed in the growing industrial areas.

2. Free public schools became a part of the American way of life just about 100 years ago.
a. ( ) In a democracy it is recognized that voters must be educated.
b. ( ) When the right to vote was extended to the average citizen in the earlier 1800's the common man was able to insist upon free educational facilities.
c. ( ) The growth of crime in the rapidly developing towns and cities brought a demand for educational facilities.

3. A definitely American type of literature was developed.
a. ( ) In the colonial period most of our literature was concerned with history and religion.
b. ( ) During the mid-1800's a number of poets, novelists, and philosophers appeared in New England.
c. ( ) During the latter 1800's American literature, except for the works of such authors as Mark Twain and Walt Whitman, tended to be of a romantic rather than a realistic type.
d. ( ) In the early 1900's some authors who attacked corrupt practices in our political and economic life became known as "muckrakers."

4. A distinct American style of architecture was developed.
a. ( ) In general, the colonists tended to build homes modeled after those they had left behind in the mother country.
b. ( ) During the later colonial period the Georgian style appeared in the South.
c. ( ) An interest in Greek style was followed by the introduction of Gothic types in the 1800's.
d. ( ) Development of a purely American type of architecture did not take place until after the beginning of this century.

5. The racial problem in the United States is yet unsolved.
a. ( ) Our so-called "quota" law has reduced the numbers of immigrants entering the United States.
b. ( ) Immigration of Asiatic labor was practically eliminated many years ago.
c. ( ) Misunderstanding between white and colored people appears to be based upon social fear and economic competition.
d. ( ) One-tenth of our population is made up of colored people.

6. Over the years the status of American women has been greatly changed.
a. ( ) During the past 100 years millions of women have become wage earners and have obtained a greater degree of economic security.

b. ( ) The movement for women's rights began in the earlier 1800's led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott.
c. ( ) Higher education for women began during the earlier 1800's.
d. ( ) Smaller, better equipped homes have given women more leisure time.

7. During the past decade considerable progress toward greater social justice has been realized.
   a. ( ) All states now have some form of unemployment insurance.
   b. ( ) The Social Security Act provided for old age pensions and unemployment insurance.
   c. ( ) The Great Depression gave rise to a wider demand for social security.
   d. ( ) Child labor has been banned effectively by federal legislation.
8. A comparatively wide-spread disregard of law has been observed in the United States.
   a. ( ) "Rackets" ruled by gangsters have cost the American people billions of dollars.
   b. ( ) Statistics show a higher proportion of homicides in the United States in proportion to the population than in European countries.
   c. ( ) At various times in our history we have consistently evaded unpopular legislation.
   d. ( ) In a rapidly growing nation failure to observe laws must be expected.
9. As a people we are becoming increasingly dependent upon each other.
   a. ( ) Our rural areas consume large quantities of goods manufactured in industrial areas.
   b. ( ) The greatest markets for agricultural products are the urban areas.
   c. ( ) The automobile, telephone and radio have brought rural and urban communities more closely together.
   d. ( ) Our ever-increasing industrialization tends to standardize our products and determines, to a considerable degree, the nature of our employment.

C. Underscore the phrases or expressions that correctly complete the following statements. There is only one appropriate response for each statement.

1. Recreation in American life today as contrasted with recreation in earlier years includes: (a) dancing; (b) forms of gambling; (c) professionalized sport; (d) the theater.
2. Of the total amount of money spent in the United States today on medical care: (a) only a small proportion is spent on preventive medicine; (b) about half is spent on preventive medicine; (c) most is spent on preventive medicine; (d) most goes for socialized medicine.
3. Denominational schools and colleges: (a) have been almost entirely replaced by state-maintained schools and universities; (b) never played

a significant part in American education; (c) were done away with when church and state were separated; (d) continue to play an important part in American education.

4. A notable reform movement of the earlier 1800's led by Dorothea Dix demanded: (a) votes for women; (b) a merit system to determine appointment to the civil service; (c) scientific treatment of the insane; (d) termination of child labor.
5. Salt Lake, Utah, was first settled by the: (a) Baptists; (b) dissenting Methodists; (c) Mormons; (d) Unitarians.
6. The development of American newspapers during the second quarter of the 19th century was strongly influenced by: (a) sensationalism; (b) yellow journalism; (c) big business interests; (d) a group of very able crusading editors.
7. By the time the Prohibition Amendment was added to our Constitution in 1919 local prohibition laws were in effect in: (a) none of the states; (b) only a few states; (c) about half of the states; (d) more than 30 states.
8. As a consequence of the development of the so-called "social gospel" in the earlier years of this century: (a) church membership and influence has declined; (b) coöperation between most Protestant denominations has decreased; (c) religious groups have taken more active interest in community welfare problems; (d) the church has declined in significance in American life.
9. During the present century: (a) there has been only a slow growth in public high school attendance; (b) subject matter offerings of the high school have remained largely unchanged; (c) the schools have taken over increased responsibility for social, moral and vocational training; (d) the educational functions of the typical American home have been greatly extended.
10. Of the following cultural contributions in the first half of the 1800's in America, the most significant was in the field of: (a) art; (b) architecture; (c) music; (d) science.
11. The underlying cause of the problems in our rapidly growing cities during the latter 1800's and in subsequent years was: (a) water supply; (b) public health and sanitation; (c) housing; (d) over-population.
12. Over the years the multiplicity of our social problems has tended to increase because: (a) of the growing feeling that such problems should be solved by the individual in a democratic society; (b) interference by governmental bureaus has needlessly complicated these problems; (c) technological development has been so rapid; (d) during periods of economic depression there has been widespread unemployment.

Have you started work on your Course Essay? See p. vii for instructions.

Part II: America Becomes a World Power

CHAPTER VI

The Emergence of the United States as a Nation

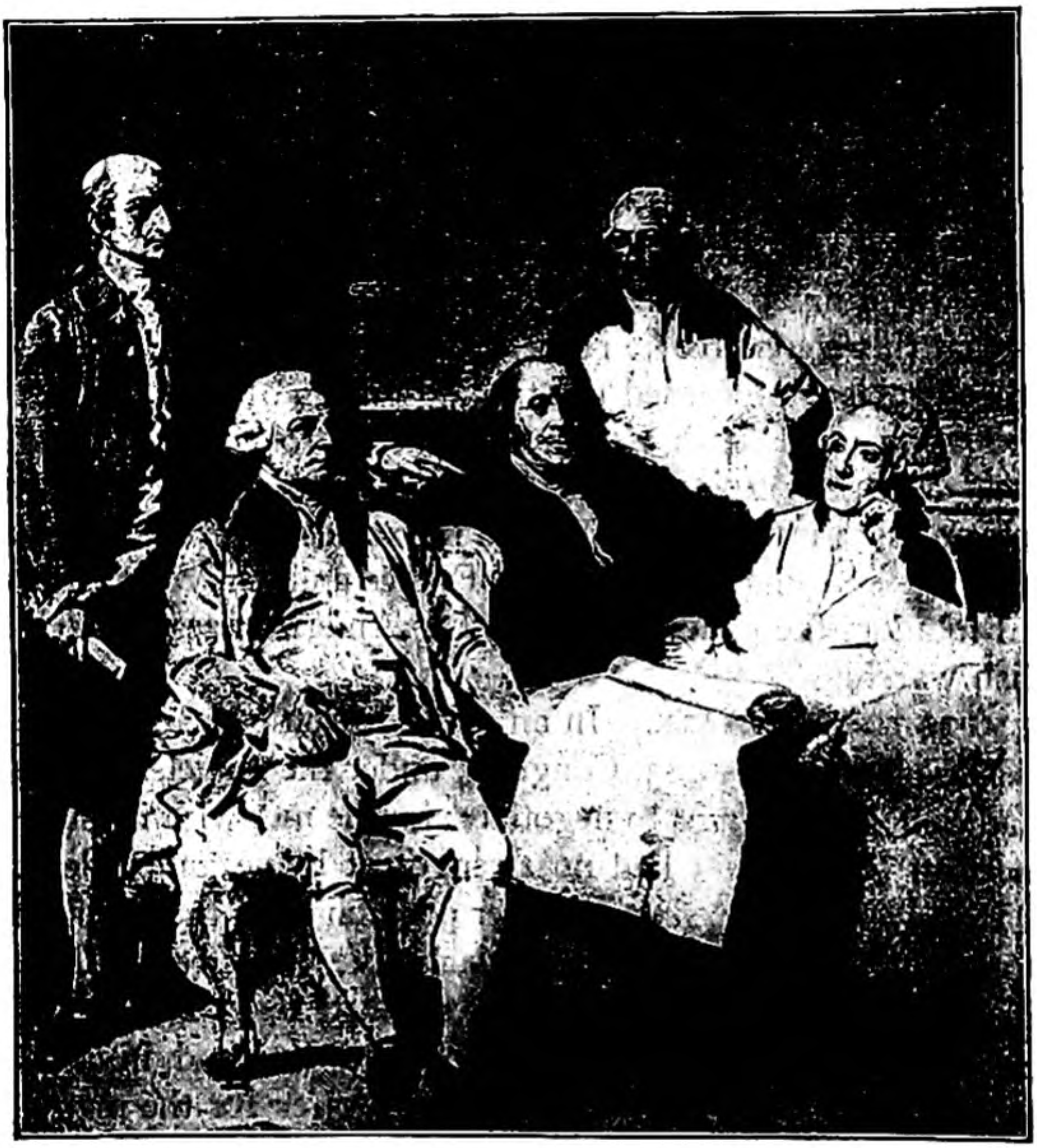
THE INFANT REPUBLIC MAINTAINS NEUTRALITY WITH DIFFICULTY

1. **Our Troubles with England and Spain.** The history of American relations with foreign countries has been a long story of efforts to maintain what we believed to be our own rights and of attempts to gain our own ends without becoming entangled in the controversies of European nations. All things considered, we have been extraordinarily successful, but the world has proved too small for us to maintain a policy of isolation in international affairs or even of strict neutrality in European conflicts. All of this was proved before the infant Republic was a quarter-century old. Surrounded on three sides by the territory of England and Spain, it was hardly likely that the United States could isolate herself from the problems of these nations.

Problems Arising from the Treaty of 1783. The treaty of peace which Franklin, Adams and Jay had so skillfully obtained from Great Britain in 1783 was certainly all that we could have hoped for, but it left undetermined as many questions as it settled. Among these were the restoration of Tory property, the payment of debts owed by Americans to British subjects at the opening of the Revolution, and the rights of Americans to fish off the Canadian coast. Furthermore, before many years had elapsed, it was discovered that the northern boundary of the United States was indefinite, and that Spain was unwilling to abide by those provisions of the treaty which concerned the boundary of Florida and navigation on the Mississippi.

The Treaty of 1783 provided that "Congress would earnestly recommend to the legislatures of the respective states" the restoration to the Tories of the property taken from them. Another article provided that British creditors would meet with no legal obstacles to the recovery of what was owed them. Only rank ignorance of the weakness of the American government under the Articles of Confederation and of the bitterness toward the Tories can explain the consent of the British negotiators to dispose of such problems in this easy manner.

The question regarding fishing proved a difficult one, and it took more than a century of diplomacy to settle it. The Americans demanded all of the privileges which they had enjoyed as British subjects, but Great Britain naturally refused. The treaty finally granted them the right (which they enjoyed under international law) to do as they pleased beyond the three-mile limit, and the "liberty" to certain inshore privileges, such as getting bait and water and drying their fish—rights which they had previously enjoyed.



PEACE COMMISSIONERS OF 1783

Benjamin West's famous unfinished painting of the American peace commissioners. Left to right: John Jay, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Temple Franklin, Henry Laurens. Laurens did not arrive until the day before the preliminary articles were signed; Temple Franklin was Benjamin's grandson, who acted as his secretary during the negotiations.

TRADING POSTS AND MARITIME COMMERCE. As the years went on, it became evident that neither the American states nor the English government was interested in carrying out either the spirit or the letter of the treaty. The states showed no intent to restore Tory property or enforce the payment of debts.[1] On her side, Great Britain refused to give up the trading posts on the Great Lakes which she had promised to surrender. She intended to hold these posts until the United States should pay the debts and compensate the Loyalists. Furthermore, the fur trade of the Northwest was exceedingly profitable, and it could be maintained only by holding these posts and protecting and arming the Indians.

Two other problems also pressed for solution. During the colonial period the northern states had grown prosperous by selling lumber, agricultural products and fish to the West Indies in exchange for currency and sugar. Under the English trading laws American ships were now excluded from the British West Indies, and the prosperity resting upon this trade was ruined. Naturally the northern states were exceedingly anxious that this commerce be reopened.

Another problem concerned the trading rights of neutrals in time of war. Following the French Revolution, there broke out in 1792 a war which was eventually to involve all Europe and to continue with but one short intermission until 1814. England began to capture American ships engaged in the carrying trade between France and her West Indian colonies, and to adopt the policy of impressing American seamen for service on British warships.

ATTEMPTS TO NEGOTIATE. In an effort to settle the differences arising under the Treaty of 1783, Congress, under the Articles of Confederation, had sent John Adams to negotiate; but he met with no success, for the American government had no strength at home and little standing abroad. However, we were in a stronger position after the adoption of the Constitution, and Congress (particularly the pro-French Republican members) was eager to take action against England. Washington, anxious to maintain peace, sent John Jay to England in a desperate effort to reach an agreement. Jay had little to offer for the many concessions which he demanded, and he returned home with a treaty humiliating in the extreme, but probably as good as could be obtained.

TERMS OF THE JAY TREATY. About the only thing the United States gained from the Jay Treaty was that England agreed to the withdrawal of her troops from the frontier posts in return for the payment of debts to British subjects. The amount to be paid was to be determined by an arbitration commission. Similar commissions were to arbitrate the Maine boundary and the claims of Americans against the British government

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[1] In support of their position, the Americans asserted that the British troops had wilfully and unncessarily destroyed American property and had also carried off property in violation of the treaty of peace.

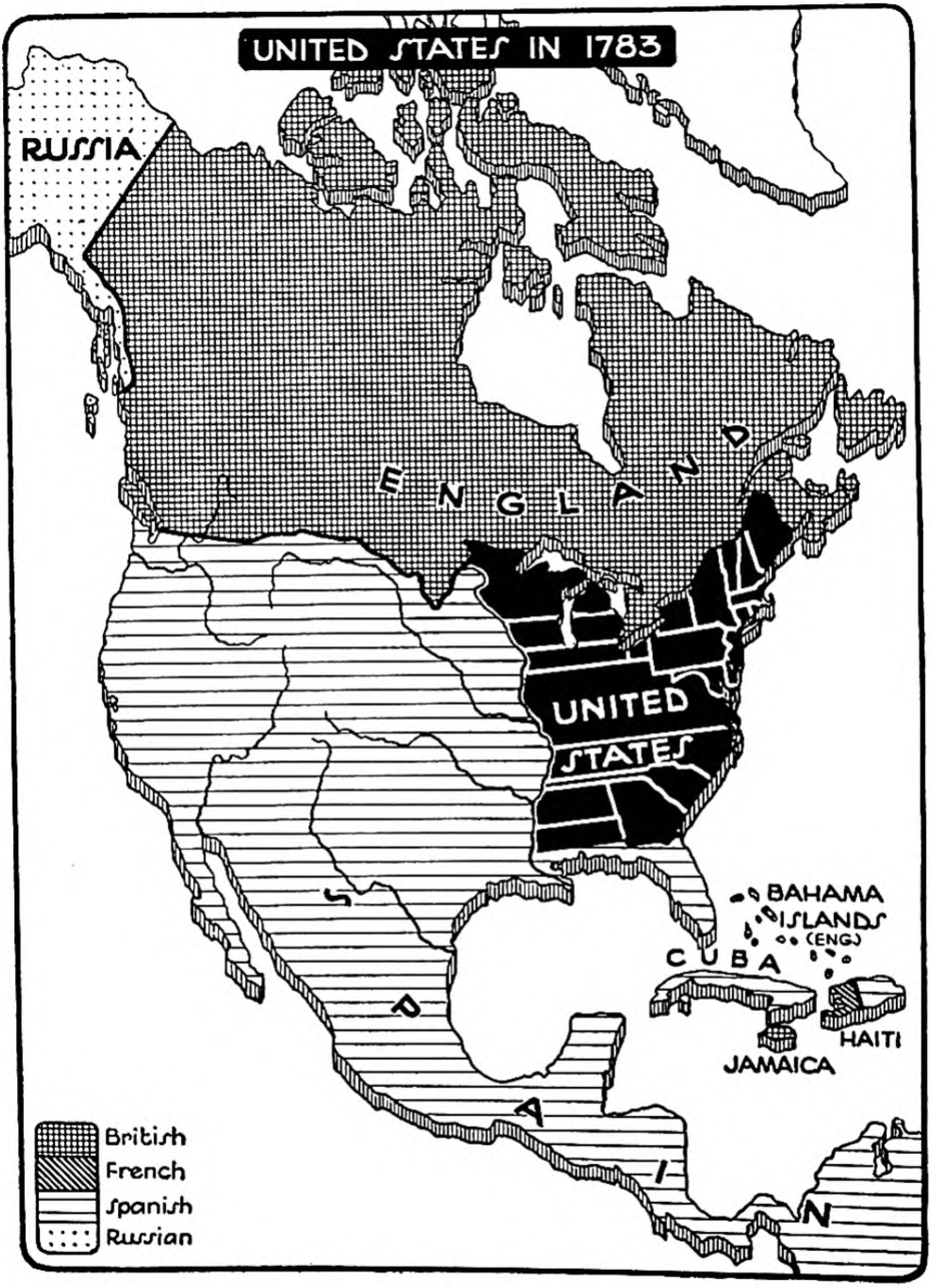
UNITED STATES IN 1783
RUSSIA
ENGLAND
UNITED STATES
SPAIN
BAHAMA ISLANDS (ENG.)
CUBA
HAITI
JAMAICA
British
French
Spanish
Russian

FIG. 6

for confiscated goods.[1] On the other hand, Great Britain refused to cease obstructing neutral commerce, and no mention was made of impressment. In brief, the treaty satisfied no one. It did, however, prevent war with England, and for this reason Washington sent it to the Senate where it was ratified by a bare two-thirds vote. When he asked the House for appropriations to put it into effect, that body debated long on the subject, but finally consented by a vote of 51 to 48, thus avoiding the constitutional problem as to whether the House can block a treaty passed by the Senate by refusing to appropriate funds for its enforcement.

THE PINCKNEY TREATY (SPANISH TREATY). Between the United States and Spain four problems pressed for settlement: (1) the right of Americans to the free navigation of the Mississippi; (2) the "right of deposit," that is, the right to transship goods to seagoing vessels at New Orleans without payment of duty; (3) the boundary line between the United States and West Florida, and (4) the policy of Spain in inciting the Indians of the Old Southwest against American settlers in her ambition to extend her power in that region. In the Treaty of 1783 England had granted to the United States free navigation of the Mississippi, a right which she had obtained in 1763 but which was no longer in her power to grant, having ceded Florida to Spain (see map, Fig. 6).

The importance of these questions cannot be exaggerated, for they involved the stability of the infant Republic. To the settler beyond the Alleghenies, the opportunity to export his products by way of the Mississippi was a matter of economic life and death. To the settler of the Southwest, the opportunity for expansion and the danger of the Indians were similarly important. More than one prominent American frontiersman was in secret negotiation with Spanish agents, and the danger that the western settlers might break away from the Union was a real one. Said Washington, "The western states (I speak now from my observation) stand as it were upon a pivot. A touch of a feather would turn them either way."

The Spanish government finally in 1795 signed a treaty with President Washington's representative, Thomas Pinckney. This treaty gave the United States free navigation of the Mississippi, right of deposit at New Orleans, the 31° boundary between Spanish Florida and the United States, and a promise to restrain the Indians within the Spanish borders. Nothing could have been more satisfactory or more timely.

2. Citizen Genêt and Our Troubles with France. Almost immediately the European war brought friction with France. The French government assumed that the Treaty of Alliance made in 1778 was still in force. Its provisions, which bound us to help defend the French West Indies and to open our ports to ships captured by the French, would, she hoped, inevitably involve us in the war on her behalf. A considerable group of Americans, ardent supporters of the French Revolution and strongly sympathetic toward France, supported this position. When Washington, anxious to avoid war, issued his neutrality proclamation in 1793 his action was bitterly resented by France and by many in this country.

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[1] A final settlement of the northeastern boundary was not effected until 1842. The question of claims was eventually settled in 1804.

About this time Edmond Genêt, the first minister or representative from the new French Republic, arrived. Encouraged by the strong pro-French sympathy which he found, "Citizen" Genêt proceeded to ignore the proclamation of neutrality. He fitted out privateers in American ports and sent them out to prey upon British commerce. At the same time he was busy organizing an armed expedition to go overland to attack Spain in Louisiana.

Aroused by Genêt's high-handed violation of neutrality, Washington demanded his recall, and Genêt's public career was ended.[1] But our troubles with France were just beginning. Shortly after Genêt's arrival, France issued her first decree against American shipping when she authorized the French navy to seize foodstuffs and private property of English citizens even on neutral ships. This decree was soon withdrawn, but not before it had done great damage to American commerce in French ports. James Monroe, strongly pro-French, was sent to France to press claims for this damage, but he did little and was soon recalled. So the situation rested at the conclusion of Washington's administration.

3. **Washington Counsels Neutrality.** With great industry and no small skill, Washington, with the aid of a group of very able diplomats, had conducted the foreign affairs of the nation in an extremely difficult period. At a time when the infant nation was utterly unprepared for conflict, he had maintained peace when a single false move might have led to war. Inexperienced in foreign affairs, he nevertheless laid the foundations of a policy which the United States has since in the main pursued. This policy, the result of eight bitter years of experience, he offered to his fellow countrymen in his Farewell Address. Warning them of too friendly attachment to the cause of any foreign nation, he said:

> The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign Nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *Political* connection as possible. . . . Why entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition?

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[1] Genêt remained in America, became a naturalized citizen of this country, and married the daughter of Governor George Clinton of New York.

4. The X Y Z Affair, and War. When John Adams assumed office in 1797 he found many of the hot-heads of the Federalist party clamoring for a war with France. In an effort to prevent this, a commission of three—Charles C. Pinckney, John Marshall and Elbridge Gerry—was sent to France where strange treatment awaited them. Met secretly by agents of the French government, the commissioners were asked to apologize for Adams's criticism of France, to make a loan to France, and to pay a bribe of $250,000 to the corrupt leaders of France. This done, France would treat with them.

The commission indignantly resented the insult and reported the affair to the President. Adams promptly laid the matter before Congress, substituting X, Y, and Z for the names of the French agents; hence the episode is called the X Y Z affair. Thoroughly aroused, the President declared that he would "never send another minister to France without assurances that he will be received, respected, and honored as the representative of a great, free, powerful, and independent nation." All treaties with France were revoked, and a Navy Department was organized (1798). Although war was not officially declared, the small American navy was sent out to destroy French ships which were raiding our merchant vessels. Our warships succeeded in capturing 84 French ships and in playing havoc with what little commerce remained to France in the West Indies.

Napoleon was ready to call quits, and suggested that he would treat with American representatives. To the great disgust of the pro-British Federalists who were anxious to fight France, Adams sent a new mission to France. A new treaty was ratified in 1800 which released the United States from the old alliance of Revolutionary War days, and France promised to leave our ships, sailors and goods alone.

5 The War of 1812 Clears the Way for Expansion. Like Washington, Adams had prevented a declaration of war, to the great benefit of American farmers and merchants. That the policy of Washington and Adams was to be followed by Jefferson was made clear in the latter's first Inaugural Address, when he announced his foreign policy as "Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none." But Jefferson, the philosopher and lover of peace, was caught like his predecessors in the European turmoil.

During his first administration he made war upon the pirates from Tripoli, North Africa, who were interfering with our commerce in the Mediterranean Sea. Using all the resources of the tiny American navy, he put an end to the humiliating practice of paying tribute to these pirates that our ships might sail in peace. During his second administration he was confronted with the old problems of neutral rights and impressment.

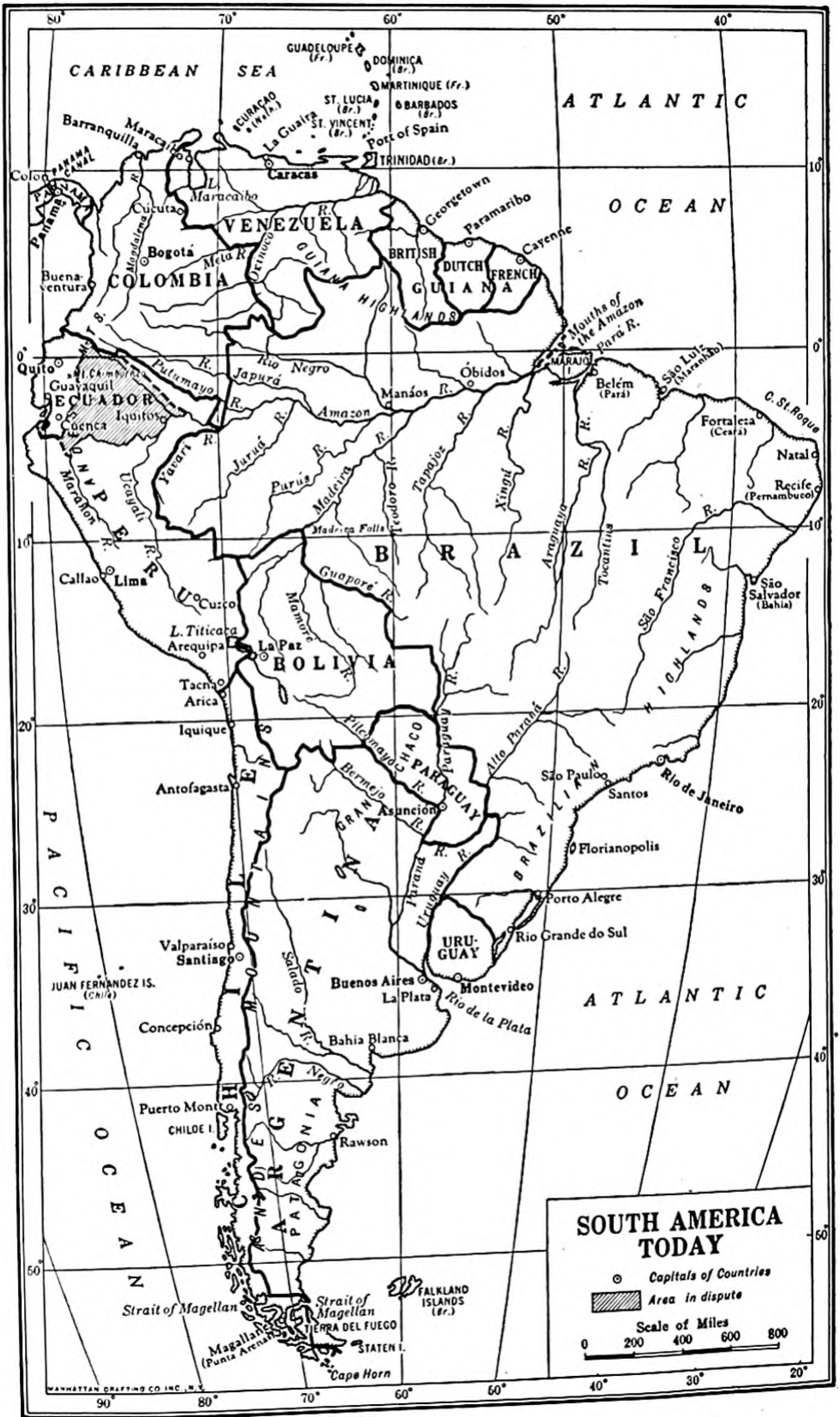
How he struggled to maintain these rights, finally resorting to an economic boycott by means of embargo and non-intercourse acts, has already been fully told in Course One. How his successor, Madison, was finally driven into war with England, not by the merchant class whose interests were so outrageously flouted, but by the ardent young nationalists of the West, has also been recounted.

The young Westerners who voted for war in 1812 had their eyes on Canada and Florida. The war did not bring either of these regions under the American flag, but it cleared the way for a great era of expansion. At Tippecanoe (1811) and in later campaigns, William Henry Harrison broke the power of the Indians in the Old Northwest, and Andrew Jackson subdued the Creeks at Horse Shoe Bend (1813). No longer were England and Spain in a position to delay our westward expansion by intriguing with the Indians. The victory at New Orleans inspired a confidence and enthusiasm which expressed itself in part in an aggressive movement toward the West. The end of the long European wars allowed America to turn her eyes from Europe and devote herself to her own domestic problems.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE PROCLAIMS AMERICA FOR THE AMERICANS

6. The Proclamation of the Monroe Doctrine. The United States was not the only part of America vitally affected by the Napoleonic Wars. The Spanish colonies in America were afflicted with a commercial system much more burdensome than that imposed upon the British colonists. When Napoleon invaded Spain and deposed the king, the Spanish colonies here set up temporary governments (still claiming allegiance to Spain), which abolished the rigid commercial system of the colonial period. After Napoleon was overthrown and the king was restored in Spain, the Spanish government attempted to revive the old trade regulations. Spanish America would have none of this and, like the English colonials almost a half-century earlier, revolted. With the exception of a few garrison towns, by 1822 the Spanish American nations won their freedom from California to Cape Horn (see map, Fig. 7).

Just as the end of the European wars gave Americans a chance to turn toward the west, so it gave Europe an opportunity to tackle again the problem of colonial affairs. At the close of the Napoleonic Wars the great Congress of Vienna met in order to reorganize Europe on a peace basis. A by-product of this Congress was a European alliance, the main purpose of which, as it proved, was to crush the snake of revolution wherever it might raise its head. When this alliance, prodded by Spain,


SOUTH AMERICA TODAY
Capitals of Countries
Area in dispute
Scale of Miles
0 200 400 600 800
CARIBBEAN SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
GUADELOUPE (Fr.)
DOMINICA (Br.)
MARTINIQUE (Fr.)
ST. LUCIA (Br.)
BARBADOS (Br.)
ST. VINCENT (Br.)
CURAÇAO (Neth.)
TRINIDAD (Br.)
Port of Spain
La Guaira
Caracas
Barranquilla
Maracaibo
L. Maracaibo
Colon
PANAMA CANAL
PANAMA
Panama
Cúcuta
Bogotá
Buenaventura
COLOMBIA
VENEZUELA
Orinoco
Meta R.
Magdalena R.
GUIANA HIGHLANDS
Georgetown
Paramaribo
Cayenne
BRITISH GUIANA
DUTCH
FRENCH
Mouths of the Amazon
Pará R.
MARAJO I.
Quito
Guayaquil
ECUADOR
Cuenca
Iquitos
Putumayo
Japurá
Rio Negro
Amazon
Manáos
Óbidos
Belém (Pará)
São Luiz (Maranhão)
C. St. Roque
Fortaleza (Ceará)
Natal
Recife (Pernambuco)
São Salvador (Bahia)
Yavari R.
Juruá R.
Purús R.
Madeira R.
Madeira Falls
Teodoro R.
Tapajoz R.
Xingú R.
Araguaya
Tocantins R.
São Francisco
BRAZIL
BRAZILIAN HIGHLANDS
Marañon
Ucayali R.
PERU
Callao
Lima
Cuzco
L. Titicaca
Arequipa
La Paz
BOLIVIA
Guaporé R.
Mamoré R.
Tacna
Arica
Iquique
Antofagasta
CHILE
ANDES MOUNTAINS
Pilcomayo
CHACO
Paraguay R.
PARAGUAY
Asunción
Bermejo R.
GRAN CHACO
Alto Paraná
São Paulo
Santos
Rio de Janeiro
Florianopolis
Paraná R.
Uruguay R.
Porto Alegre
Rio Grande do Sul
URUGUAY
Montevideo
ARGENTINA
Salado R.
Valparaíso
Santiago
JUAN FERNANDEZ IS. (Chile)
Buenos Aires
La Plata
Rio de la Plata
Concepción
Bahia Blanca
Negro R.
Puerto Montt
CHILOE I.
Rawson
PATAGONIA
Strait of Magellan
Magallanes (Punta Arenas)
TIERRA DEL FUEGO
STATEN I.
Cape Horn
FALKLAND ISLANDS (Br.)
MANHATTAN DRAFTING CO. INC., N.Y.

proposed to restore to her the colonies in South America which had recently revolted, the United States became concerned.

About the same time (1821) the Czar of Russia issued a decree warning all foreign ships to keep clear of the Russian American coast which had been extended southward to 51°, thus advancing upon the Oregon country claimed jointly by the United States and Great Britain. Clearly the situation was becoming bad, and demanded action. What should the United States do? In the first place, it protested strongly to Russia. In the second place, it recognized the revolutionary governments of Spanish America.

SHOULD THE UNITED STATES ACT ALONE? In the meantime Great Britain entered upon the scene. That nation had gained much from the newly opened trade with South America and might lose it if Spain's former colonies were restored. She controlled the sea, and without her help Spain's project of crushing the revolutions was probably hopeless. Lord Canning, the British Foreign Secretary, forced France to promise that she would not interfere. At the same time he suggested to the United States that we and Great Britain join in an agreement not to take any Spanish American territory, and that the two nations act together against any European interference. What of the British proposals? Most of President Monroe's advisors recommended the agreement which England proposed, but his Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, wisely protested, asserting that this was no time "to come in as a cock-boat in the wake of the British man-of-war."

TERMS OF THE DOCTRINE. John Quincy Adams had his way and the United States rejected the proposal of England. In his annual message of 1823, Monroe, taking the advice of Adams that we should act alone, set forth what is known as the Monroe Doctrine. In summary, Adams through Monroe proclaimed that (1) the United States will not interfere in internal affairs of Europe, (2) Europe must not interfere with existing independent governments in the Americas, and (3) Europe must not further colonize in the Americas. This was a ringing warning against Russian ambitions in the Oregon Territory and against European interference in Latin America. It was a striking indication of the growing strength of the young Republic and the rising nationalism of her people. Time alone would determine how Europe would receive this, and many here wondered whether we could stand back of it if it were challenged. Nevertheless, it was a bold statement to the world that the United States would determine her own policies.

7. The First Test of the Monroe Doctrine. The Monroe Doctrine was important at the time and has become more significant as succeeding administrations have enlarged its meaning. Obviously it was not part of international law,[1] it was simply the statement of an American President in a message to Congress. Its effectiveness was entirely dependent upon the desire and strength of the United States to enforce it. Certainly in 1823 she was in no position to oppose armed intervention by Europe.

THE FRENCH IN MEXICO. Fortunately for the United States, the first important test of the Monroe Doctrine did not come until we were in a position to make good our policy. During the War between the States Napoleon III of France, in the hope of strengthening his tottering throne, conceived the grand scheme of establishing a French colonial empire in Mexico. A period of internal revolution and strife in Mexico had resulted in the suspension of payments on foreign bonds and in acts of hostility toward the Catholic Church. In the United States a civil war had just commenced. Here was Napoleon's opportunity. French control of Mexico would please many groups—militarists longing for French prestige, business men searching for trade, and churchmen anxious to safeguard their religion. Joining England and Spain, an expedition was sent to Mexico which speedily forced an agreement regarding the debt. Spain and England then withdrew, but French troops remained and set up the Archduke Maximilian of Austria as a puppet emperor. A spirited resistance was kept up in Mexico against the foreign invader.

Finally, the French plot to get control of Mexico fell through. There were two reasons for this: First, the United States warned France that we objected to having a European country meddling with the affairs of any nation in this hemisphere. Our objections were, of course, backed up by the fact that the War between the States was over and therefore we had a veteran army ready to strike. Second, we did not have to use force, because France called back her soldiers, the Mexican people captured and shot Maximilian and declared their independence once more. So the first serious attempt to challenge the Monroe Doctrine failed miserably for France.

8. Cleveland and Venezuela. The next important controversy in which the Monroe Doctrine played a part was the question of the boundary line between British Guiana and Venezuela (see map, Fig. 7). This boundary had been in continual dispute since Great Britain had acquired her colony in 1815. As the years went by, England extended her line to include more and more territory over the protests of Venezuela. Finally Venezuela demanded that the boundary be arbitrated,[2] and upon England's refusal, broke off diplomatic relations in 1887 and appealed to the United States.

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[1] International law may be described as the series of principles and rules which nations generally have accepted as binding upon their relations with one another.

[2] Arbitration is a method of settling a dispute by referring it to a third party usually agreed upon by the parties to the dispute. The contending parties generally agree to abide by the decision of the arbitrator or board of arbitration. The decision of the arbitrator is known as the award.

In 1895 President Cleveland, convinced that the just demands of a weak nation were being ruthlessly overridden by a powerful empire, demanded that Great Britain submit the dispute to arbitration. The American message went back to the Monroe Doctrine as the basis for our interest in the question, and took the opportunity to lecture Great Britain in a fashion that must have made the diplomats of Downing Street rub their eyes. With amazing frankness it was declared:

> To-day the United States is practically sovereign [supreme] on this continent. . . . Why? It is not because of the pure friendship or good will felt for it. It is not simply by reason of its high character as a civilized state, nor because wisdom and justice and equity are the invariable characteristics of the dealings of the United States. It is because, in addition to all other grounds, its infinite resources combined with its isolated position render it master of the situation and practically invulnerable as against any or all other powers.

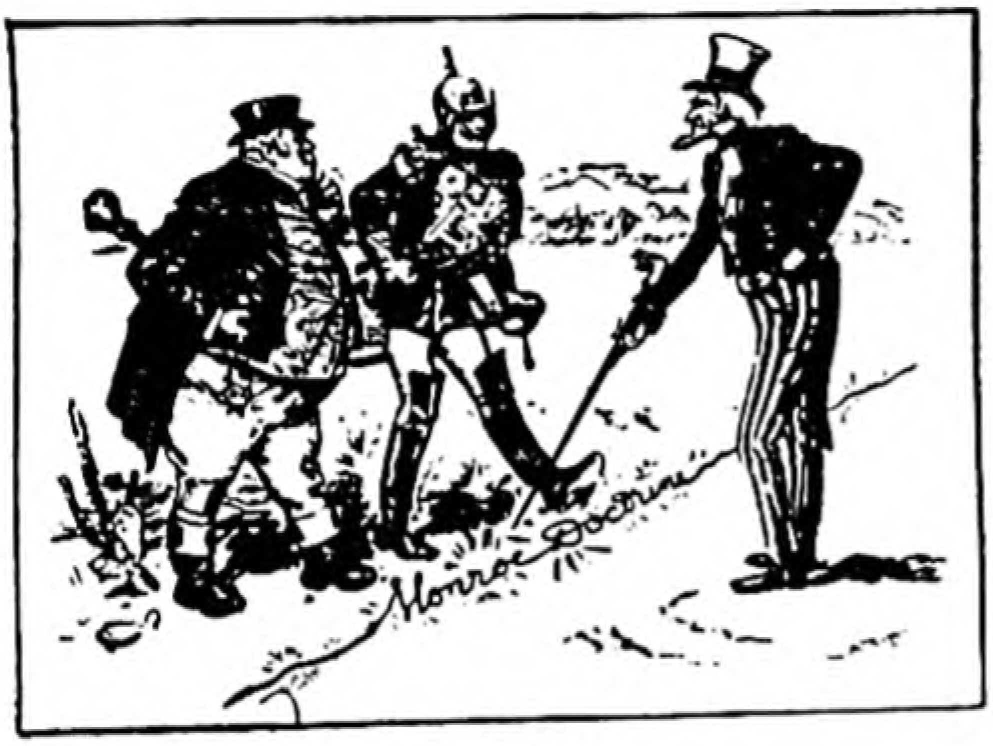
ARBITRATION FORCED. The British government answered by saying that the Doctrine was in no way violated. It rejected Cleveland's principle that "American questions are for American decision." Arbitration was refused. Cleveland thereupon asked Congress for an appropriation to pay the expense of a commission appointed by himself to investigate the boundary and hinted that the findings of the committee would be upheld by the United States.

This was a threat of war if the American commission should find England the aggressor, and sensible people on both sides of the Atlantic hastened to exert themselves to avoid such a catastrophe. Undoubtedly influenced in part by sudden complications in South Africa which led eventually to the Boer War, the British government completely changed front, gave every assistance to the American commission, and signed a treaty with Venezuela to arbitrate the boundary. Although the British claims were largely upheld, the United States succeeded in extending the Monroe Doctrine to include a boundary line dispute.

9. Roosevelt's Interpretation. Seven years later (1902) Venezuela was again in a difficulty which brought intervention on the part of the United States. This time it was a question of debts owed by Venezuela to citizens of Great Britain, Germany, and Italy.

SECOND VENEZUELAN INCIDENT. Under the leadership of Great Britain these three nations decided to engage in an armed demonstration for the purpose of reaching an agreement. After three messages had been sent by the British foreign office to Venezuela, Great Britain, Germany and Italy withdrew their diplomatic representatives, set up a blockade of the Venezuelan coast and seized some gunboats of that nation. If Venezuela should refuse or be unable to settle, this military interference might easily lead to an extension of political control. President Theodore Roosevelt stepped in at once. He recognized the justice of the claims of the debtors and the right of the nations to collect just debts. He pointed out, however, that seizure of territory would be a violation of the Monroe Doctrine, and urged arbitration. Venezuela now consented to arbitrate: England agreed at once, as did Germany after some hesitation.

The intervention of Roosevelt in the Venezuelan incident had one interesting result. It was obvious that the United States, in recognizing the right of interference in collecting European debts, had done so, not because of any love of Venezuela, but to protect our own growing interest in the Caribbean. This brought from Louis Drago, Argentine Minister of Foreign affairs, a statement to the effect that the Argentine would not admit the right of any nation, Germany or the United States, to interfere in a South American nation for collection of a debt. If investors put their money in backward and irresponsible nations, they must take the risks involved. This "Drago Doctrine" (1902) is supported by liberal thinkers and has at times been admitted by the American government as reasonable. But it has not, as we shall see, always been the guiding policy of the United States.



A LIVE WIRE

A cartoon of the Venezuela incident by W. A. Rogers in the New York *Herald*, December 16, 1902. Which countries are being reminded that the Monroe Doctrine is not a dead letter?

THE "ROOSEVELT COROLLARY." In 1904, when the United States became involved in the financial affairs of the Dominican Republic, President Theodore Roosevelt in his message to Congress said:

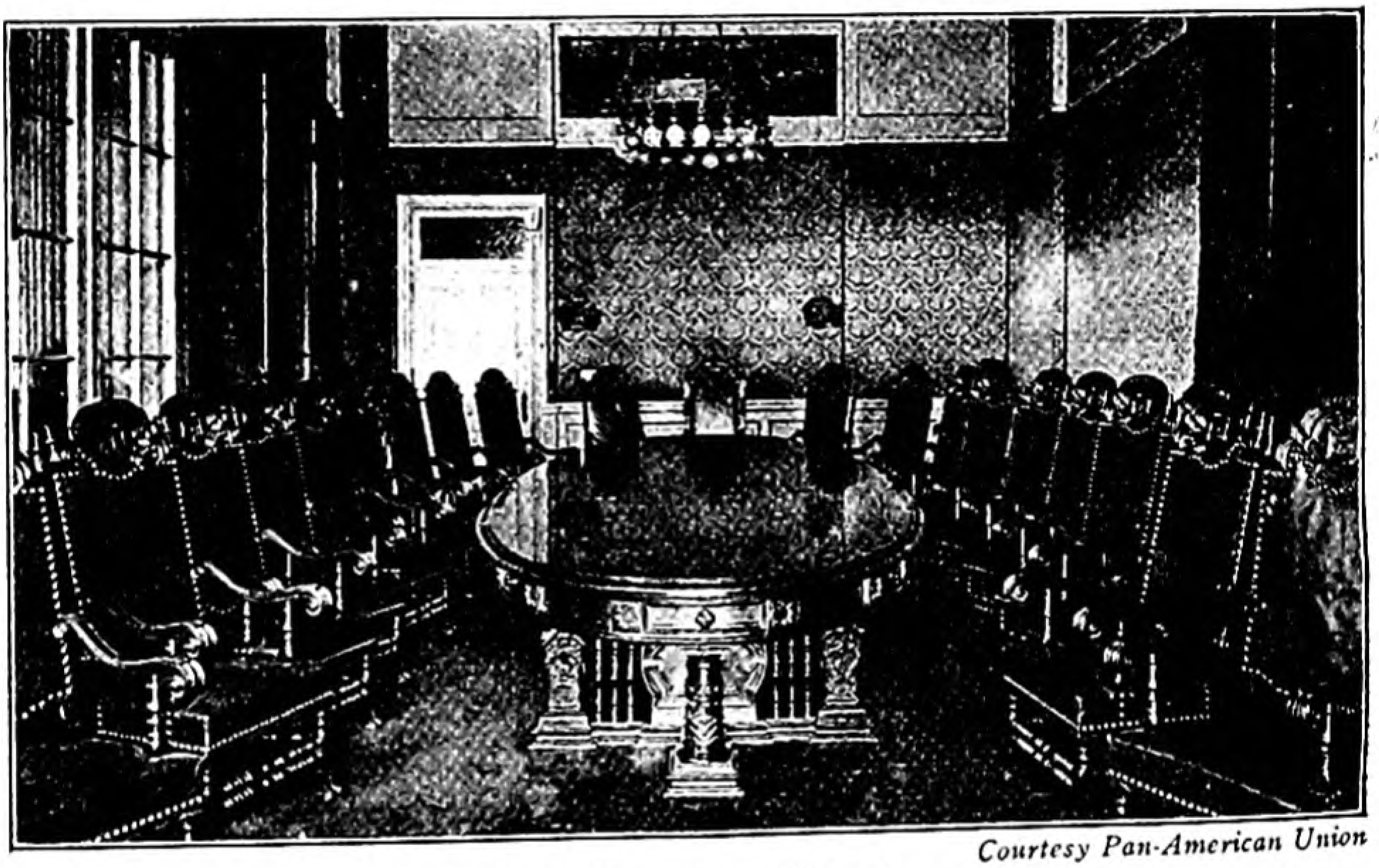
> If a nation shows that it knows how to act with reasonable efficiency and decency in social and political matters, if it keeps order and pays its obligations, it need fear no interference from the United States. Chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power.

Here was the Monroe Doctrine carried to its final conclusion. It may be necessary, hinted Theodore Roosevelt, for outside nations to interfere in the internal affairs of a weak and irresponsible country. If such a situation, however, should develop in Latin America, it is the business of the United States to act as the policeman to set matters to rights. This has been called the *Corollary of the Monroe Doctrine*. Such a policy was not displeasing to the nations of Europe who were quite willing that we should do the dirty work and collect their questionable debts. On the other hand, it was exceedingly disquieting to the nations of Latin America, who saw in it only an assertion by the United States of the right to intervene in their affairs. To them it seemed as if we had said to Europe, "Keep Out!" simply that we might enter; and they objected to our self-righteous assumption of the power to determine when intervention might be necessary. The Latin American nations were willing that we should protect them from Europe, but who would protect them from the United States? It is quite plain that there had been a great enlargement of the Monroe Doctrine from the simple statements and warnings of Monroe to the assumption of police power in the Americas by Roosevelt.

10. **The Monroe Doctrine since Roosevelt.** The "Roosevelt corollary," which put the United States in the position of policeman or guardian of the nations of Latin America, was strengthened rather than weakened in succeeding administrations. President Wilson reduced Haiti to a protectorate of the United States and refused to recognize the Huerta government in Mexico. The rumor that Japan was negotiating for a naval base on the coast of Mexico brought a Senate resolution in 1912 which extended the scope of the Doctrine to include other than European nations. In the Covenant of the League of Nations, drawn up after the World War, the Doctrine was finally given recognition in international law.

Under the Coolidge, Hoover and Roosevelt administrations there has been some retreat from the advanced position taken by Theodore Roosevelt and Wilson. Decisions to withdraw from Haiti and Nicaragua were reached, and treaties were signed with Latin-American nations to submit certain types of disputes to the World Court or other bodies. It was officially emphasized that the Monroe Doctrine was a "declaration of the United States *versus* Europe—not of the United States *versus* Latin America." We had taken aggressive measures in the Caribbean, it was suggested, not because of the "Roosevelt corollary" but because of the vital interests of our own self-defense. At any rate, the American attitude was undergoing a change and it was clear by the time of the Hoover administration that the American government was quite willing to let the Roosevelt Corollary recede into the background.

11. Pan-Americanism. We have already noted the interest aroused in the United States by the successful revolutions in Latin America and how we were the first foreign government to recognize the independence of the new American nations. Much of this early interest in Latin America was due to Henry Clay. After Clay, the first Secretary of State to be greatly concerned with Latin America was James G. Blaine. Taking his cue from Clay, he urged the policy of "America for the Americans." He desired the establishment of closer ties between the American nations which would result in the peaceful settlement of disputes and the development of closer economic relations among the nations of the western hemisphere.



Courtesy Pan-American Union

PAN-AMERICAN UNION

Governing board room of the Pan-American Union. The large oval table in the center is of Dominican mahogany, each matching chair bearing the name and coat of arms of one of the countries comprising the Union. The building was constructed at a cost of about $1,100,000, of which Carnegie subscribed $850,000.

During his brief tenure of office under Garfield, he actively concerned himself in the affairs of Latin America and laid plans for a Pan-American conference in Washington. These plans were canceled by his successor, but when Blaine again took office in 1889 in the Harrison cabinet, his ambition was finally fulfilled. The conference of 1889 was little interested in Blaine's proposals for peace by arbitration and for improved trade relationships. It did effect one solid achievement in establishing the International Union of American Republics which functions today as the

Pan-American Union and is gorgeously housed in a marble palace, the gift of Andrew Carnegie. The Union is composed of the ministers at Washington from each of the Latin American nations and it acts chiefly as a clearing house for information.

Seven subsequent Pan-American Conferences have been held. Their value has been chiefly in that they have given the nations to the south a chance to state their position and thus clear the air. Little more came from them until the 1930's because of the inherited distrust in Latin America toward the United States, a distrust founded chiefly upon what it considered the ruthless imperialism of the United States in Central America and the Caribbean. What basis there is for such distrust will be discussed in Chapter VIII.

Can You Use These Terms?

A. Underscore the phrases or expressions that correctly complete the following statements.

1. Diplomacy is: (a) the function of our State Department; (b) negotiation between nations; (c) international law.
2. International law: (a) is the customs that most nations consider binding in their relations with one another; (b) sometimes is drawn up by international agreement; (c) any kind of law that is to be found in most or all nations.
3. In the days of the American Revolution Tories were: (a) people who retained their allegiance to the British crown; (b) sometimes called "Loyalists"; (c) lost considerable property for which they claimed compensation.
4. Arbitration: (a) is a means of settling international disputes peacefully; (b) may be carried on through an agency established by a third nation at the request of the contending countries; (c) was used to settle a boundary dispute between England and Venezuela in the late 1800's.

Do You Know the Facts?

B. Match the following items in the right-hand column with the proper choices in the left-hand column. To do this insert the number or numbers of choices in the parentheses in front of the proper item or items. There may be items that cannot be matched. There may be others that can be matched with more than one choice.

CHOICE	ITEM
1. Jay Treaty	a. ( ) Issued by Washington to keep us out of a European war

CHOICE	ITEM
2. Pinckney Treaty	b. ( ) Built a fence around the Americas
3. Citizen Genêt	c. ( ) Initiated in an effort to bring the American nations closer together
4. Neutrality Proclamation	d. ( ) Caused an undeclared naval war with France in 1798
5. Farewell Address	e. ( ) Made the United States the "policeman" of the Caribbean
6. X Y Z Affair	f. ( ) Opposed Theodore Roosevelt's interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine
7. Monroe Doctrine	g. ( ) Agreed to by the United States and England in 1794-95
8. Roosevelt Corollary	h. ( ) French representative who ignored the Neutrality Proclamation
9. Drago Doctrine	i. ( ) Ended immediate troubles with Spain in 1795
10. Pan-Americanism	j. ( ) Fundamental foreign policy urged by Washington

C. Underscore the phrases or expressions that correctly complete the following statements. There may be more than one correct response to a statement.

1. The objects of our negotiations with England that ended in the Jay Treaty were to: (a) obtain the right to trade with the British West Indies; (b) get back our Great Lakes trading posts; (c) obtain rights to use the port of New Orleans; (d) get England to observe the "freedom of the seas."
2. The Jay Treaty: (a) prevented war with England at a very critical time in our history; (b) guaranteed that our ships and sailors would not be molested by British war vessels; (c) provided that our Great Lakes trading posts would be returned to us; (d) promised Britain's aid should we have war with France.
3. At the close of the Revolution the United States: (a) extended westward only to the Mississippi River; (b) included Florida and what are now the most southerly parts of Alabama and Mississippi; (c) was bounded on the north by British territory; (d) was bounded on the south, and west of the Mississippi River, by Spanish territory.
4. Our troubles with Spain in the 1780's and early 1790's arose because: (a) Spain would not allow us to use the Mississippi River and the port of New Orleans; (b) we could not agree as to the boundary between Spanish and United States territory; (c) Spain was trying

to recover her former colonies in Latin America; (d) Spain was urging Indians to attack us in our Old Southwest.

5. When Washington said, "The western states . . . stand as it were upon a pivot. A touch of a feather would turn them either way," he meant that: (a) the western states might desert the Union to join Spain; (b) our government must take steps to protect our Westerners; (c) they might not ratify the Constitution.
6. The United States Navy saw action against: (a) France in the late 1790's; (b) England on the Great Lakes in the early 1790's; (c) pirates from Tripoli and other North African cities in the early 1800's; (d) Spain on the Mississippi River just before the Pinckney Treaty was signed.
7. Spain's Latin American colonies broke away from Spain: (a) when Spain was engaged in the Napoleonic Wars; (b) partly because they were being bled by Spain's commercial system; (c) and established a single united nation that broke up later; (d) into a number of independent countries during the years after the Napoleonic Wars.
8. As a consequence of the British proposal that we and Britain jointly agree to protect and uphold the independence of the Latin American nations, we: (a) made a treaty with Britain to carry out this plan; (b) declared our intention of doing so alone by announcing the Monroe Doctrine; (c) negotiated a series of alliances with the Latin American republics; (d) established the Pan-American Union.
9. The Monroe Doctrine was: (a) a treaty; (b) a statement of United States policy made by President Monroe in his message to Congress; (c) an international law; (d) a law passed by Congress.
10. The Monroe Doctrine was intended to: (a) uphold the independence of the Latin American nations; (b) check Russian expansion in North America: (c) give the United States a free hand in this hemisphere; (d) prevent further colonization in this hemisphere by European nations.
11. The Monroe Doctrine was challenged during the 1800's and early 1900's by: (a) Russia; (b) France; (c) England; (d) Germany.
12. The meaning of the Monroe Doctrine was expanded by: (a) Grover Cleveland's stand in the Venezuelan boundary dispute; (b) the Drago Doctrine; (c) the "Roosevelt Corollary"; (d) the Venezuelan debt incident.
13. According to President Theodore Roosevelt's interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, the United States: (a) should supervise the internal affairs of irresponsible nations in this hemisphere if they failed to meet their obligations to other countries; (b) was to act as a police power among the small nations in the Caribbean Sea vicinity; (c) must look after the affairs of European nations in weaker Latin American countries because the Monroe Doctrine prevented European nations from doing so.

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14. Since the days of the First World War the United States has: (a) carried Theodore Roosevelt's interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine even further; (b) tended to slacken up on the Roosevelt Corollary; (c) continued to act as a police power in the Caribbean area for purposes of national defense; (d) withdrawn from the Caribbean Sea area.
15. The Pan-American Union: (a) was formed in the latter 1800's; (b) was organized to bring the nations of this hemisphere closer together; (c) has headquarters in Washington, D. C.; (d) promotes conferences among the nations of this hemisphere.

Can You Use What You Have Learned?

D. Some of the following statements are true, some are false; others may be opinions. If the statement is true, circle the letter **T**, *or the letter* **F** *if it is false. If it is an opinion discussed in the chapter, circle the letters* **OD** *(opinion discussed) If it is an opinion not discussed in the chapter, circle the letters* **ON** *(opinion not discussed).*

1. **T F OD ON** President Washington summarized in his "Farewell Address" what he felt our basic foreign policy should be.
2. **T F OD ON** We were brought into the First and Second World Wars because we ignored Washington's advice.
3. **T F OD ON** A policy of isolation cannot be followed in the modern world.
4. **T F OD ON** The Jay Treaty served no real purpose because it did not solve our problems with England.
5. **T F OD ON** Pinckney's successful negotiations with Spain ended fears that our Old Southwest might break away from the Union.
6. **T F OD ON** European nations accepted the Monroe Doctrine in 1823 because they knew we could have enforced it then.
7. **T F OD ON** The French challenge to the Monroe Doctrine in the 1860's failed.
8. **T F OD ON** President Theodore Roosevelt's "Corollary" was intended to protect our expanding interests in the vicinity of the Caribbean Sea.
9. **T F OD ON** The Roosevelt Corollary was a self-righteous assumption on our part that the Latin American nations welcomed our intervention.
10. **T F OD ON** Latin American countries began to think that they would need protection against the United States.

11. **T F OD ON** Much of our difficulty in building up completely favorable relations with Latin America may be traced to our application of the Roosevelt Corollary.

12. **T F OD ON** The earlier Pan-American Conferences failed to accomplish a great deal because Latin American nations distrusted the United States.

Summarizing Exercise

E. Underscore the items in the following list that represent our general, fundamental foreign policy down to the 1930's.

1. X Y Z affair; 2. The Jay Treaty; 3. The War of 1812; 4. Washington's Farewell Address: 5. the Drago Doctrine; 6. The Monroe Doctrine; 7. The "Roosevelt Corollary"; 8. The Pan-American Union; 9. President Wilson's intervention in Haiti; 10. French attempt to gain control of Mexico.

Correspondence or Class Assignments

F. See general instructions under this heading, p. vi.

1. Show how each of the following has influenced our foreign policy: (a) George Washington; (b) John Quincy Adams; (c) Theodore Roosevelt.
2. Give an account of the conditions that gave rise to the announcement of the Monroe Doctrine, touching upon: (a) European designs upon North and South America; (b) British influence; (c) nature and purpose of the Monroe Doctrine.
3. State the problems that the United States had with England, France and Spain during the 1790's. Describe how our new government solved or tried to solve these problems with each of these three nations.

Suggested Readings

Textbooks:

Some good general materials on "The Emergence of the United States as a Nation" are: J. S. Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, pp. 251-67, 278-82, 295, 306-09, chap. xv, pp. 375-77, 669-75, 777-81, 816-19, 853-57; H. W. Elson, *History of the United States of America*, pp. 332-48, 370-79, 401-07, 448-52, 743-44, 856-58, 913-14, 956-59; H. U. Faulkner, *American Political and Social History*, pp. 136-40, 180-85, chaps. xxx, xxxi, xxxii. More extended treatment can be found in C. R. Fish, *The Path of Empire*, chaps. i, ii, iv, vi and xvi. For an account of foreign relations during President Washington's terms of office, try H. J. Ford, *Washington and His Colleagues*, chaps. vi-vii. The development of the South American nations is taken up in W. R. Shepherd, *The Hispanic Nations of the New World*, and in S. G. Inman and C. E. Castañeda, *History of Latin America*, EM 212, EM 213.

Historical Novels:

S. W. Mitchell, *Red City*, describes French Revolutionary influence in Philadelphia in the mid-1790's. J. Jennings, *Call The New World*, is a story of the wars for South American independence and the birth of the Monroe Doctrine.

.CHAPTER VII

Manifest Destiny—Nationalism Through Diplomacy and Force

WE EXPAND THROUGH DIPLOMATIC AGREEMENTS

1. **The Louisiana Purchase.** The westward movement began with the coming of the first settlers and continued with but little interruption. The advance guard of this movement broke through the Appalachian mountain passes during the Revolution, and in the years following spread rapidly over the fertile lands of the Old Northwest and the Old Southwest. The future prosperity of these settlers depended upon marketing their agricultural surplus. Without railroads or canals to carry this surplus to the East, their natural outlet was down the Mississippi and by sea to the eastern states or Europe. The Mississippi was the great artery which supplied the economic lifeblood of the West, but the flow might at any time be interrupted by the conflicting colonial ambitions of European states.

France retired from the North American continent at the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763, ceding her vast possessions west of the Mississippi to Spain. At the same time Great Britain took Florida, but returned it to Spain at the end of the American Revolution. The territory of the United States, therefore, was surrounded on the west and south by Spanish possessions (see map, Fig. 6), and it was an accepted part of Spanish policy to check the development of American power in the Mississippi Valley. The transportation needs of the western settlers—for the time being, at least—had been taken care of by the Pinckney Treaty of 1795. This agreement gave Americans the right to deposit their goods at New Orleans and transfer them to ocean-going vessels without payment of a duty. So long as the mouth of the Mississippi was in the possession of a rather weak Spanish empire, there was little reason for Americans to worry.

The entrance of France upon the scene, however, radically changed the situation. France had never lost her interest in Louisiana, and had made repeated efforts to regain it. Success crowned her efforts in 1800, when Napoleon, the powerful leader of France, practically forced Spain to give up Louisiana to France. The regaining of Louisiana was part of Napoleon's dream of erecting a new colonial empire in America. Louisiana was to be the granary of the Island of Haiti which he had recently acquired, and in the strong hands of France it might effectively check the growing American Republic.

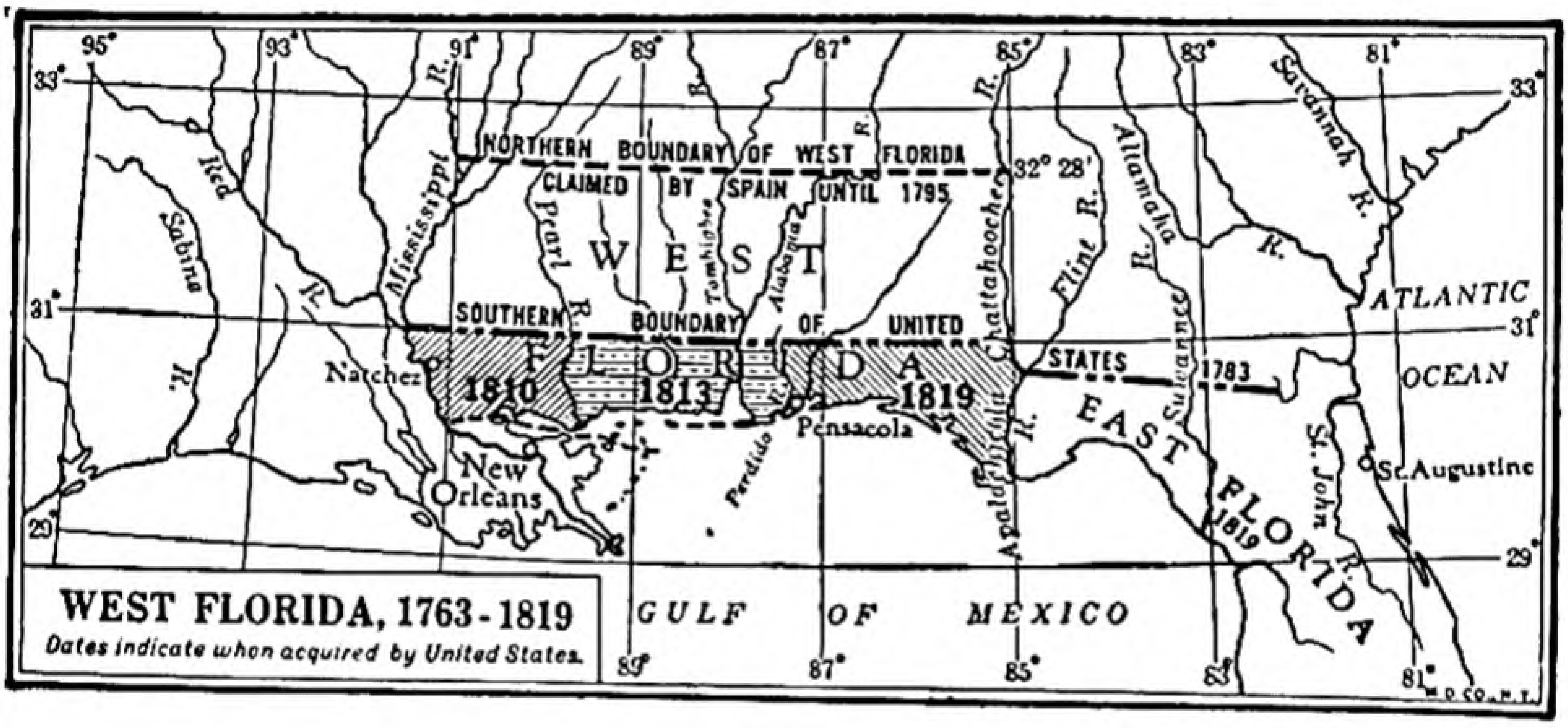
Negotiations for the Purchase. Upon receipt of rumors that France had obtained Louisiana, Jefferson instructed his minister to France to negotiate for the purchase of New Orleans and West Florida. After a period of unsatisfactory bargaining the minister was dumbfounded when Napoleon suddenly offered to sell the whole of Louisiana. The price agreed upon for this vast region was only about $15,000,000 and this sum included the payment by the United States of certain claims which Americans had against France. Why, after long efforts to obtain Louisiana, did Napoleon so suddenly decide to sell? Rebellion which had broken out in Haiti and his failure to crush it had wrecked his dream of empire. He was on the brink of war with England and needed money. In case of war, England would undoubtedly capture Louisiana, and it was far better to transfer it to the United States for a price than to have it fall into British hands.

Jefferson, who had hoped to get but a small piece of Louisiana, now had the whole region thrown at him. He doubted his power under the Constitution to purchase this territory because he believed in strict construction. In spite of this belief, he submitted the treaty to the Senate, for he did not want to lose such a bargain. It was ratified after the bitter opposition of New England Federalists, who rightly foresaw that this vast addition of territory would diminish the importance and influence of their section.

Approximately doubling our territorial area as it did, it was indeed a great bargain. From it, 15 states in whole or in part have been created, and it now has a population of over 23,000,000 (see map, Fig. 10). A remarkable feature of the purchase was the fact that it did not define the boundaries except to state that Louisiana was to have "the same extent that it now has in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it," a phrase which was anything but definite. When Livingston asked the French Foreign Minister Talleyrand what the boundaries were, Talleyrand answered that he did not know, and continued, "You have made a noble bargain for yourselves, and I suppose you will make the most of it." This we did, but it involved almost a half-century of boundary line disputes.

2. Annexation of Florida. The most important dispute raised by the Louisiana treaty was the question of West Florida. This area France had originally controlled as part of Louisiana. This land had changed hands several times so there was some doubt that it was a part of Louisiana at the time of the American purchase. Jefferson and his successors, however, soon came to the conclusion that West Florida was part of the Louisiana Purchase, and acted accordingly.

In the succeeding years American settlers poured into the disputed region, revolted against Spain in 1810, and demanded annexation. Madison gladly acceded, and the country as far east as the Pearl River was occupied (1810) and incorporated (1812) into the new state of Louisiana. In the same year the land extending to the Perdido was added to the territory of Mississippi although Mobile and other parts of that region were not wholly occupied until 1813 (see map, Fig. 8). This action was defended on the ground that the Spanish empire was breaking up and that the United States could not "without serious inquietude" see this neighboring territory "pass from the hands of Spain into those of any other foreign power." Actually we wanted more land, access to the West, and the gaining of "natural" boundary lines. When the American minister at St. Petersburg undertook to explain this annexation to Alexander I, the Emperor bowed and remarked pleasantly, "Everybody is getting a little bigger, nowadays."


95°
93°
91°
89°
87°
85°
83°
81°
33°
31°
29°
Red R.
Sabine R.
Mississippi R.
Pearl R.
Tombigbee R.
Alabama R.
Chattahoochee R.
Flint R.
Altamaha R.
Savannah R.
Suwannee R.
St. John R.
Apalachicola R.
Perdido R.
NORTHERN BOUNDARY OF WEST FLORIDA CLAIMED BY SPAIN UNTIL 1795
32° 28'
SOUTHERN BOUNDARY OF UNITED STATES 1783
WEST FLORIDA
1810
1813
1819
EAST FLORIDA
1819
Natchez
New Orleans
Pensacola
St. Augustine
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO

WEST FLORIDA, 1763-1819

Dates indicate when acquired by United States.

Fig. 8

Friction over Florida. As long as Spain held any part of Florida, there was bound to be friction. It was a refuge for runaway slaves, plundering bands of Indians and pirates; and during the War of 1812 it was used by Great Britain as a base of operation against the United States. Spain in the Pinckney Treaty had promised protection from Indian attacks, but her power in Florida was too weak to make good her promise, even if she had desired to do so. Andrew Jackson invaded Florida in 1814 to prevent the British from seizing Pensacola, and again in 1818 to put down outrages of the Seminole Indians. On the latter expedition, he not only thoroughly punished the Indians, but captured the Spanish forts of St. Marks and Pensacola, and executed two Englishmen accused of supplying arms to the Indians.

Jackson's hasty actions might easily have led to war with both Spain and Great Britain, but their direct effect was to convince Spain that she had better sell before the rest of Florida was seized. The result was the Treaty of 1819, by which Spain ceded all her land east of the Mississippi together with what claims she had to the Oregon Territory. In return for this, the United States gave up its claims to Texas. Many in Congress were unwilling to trade Texas for Florida, but the treaty was finally ratified in 1821.

3. **The Canadian Boundary.** Ignorance of American geography was never more evident than in the treaty which concluded the American Revolution. As the years went by, it became evident that the boundaries between the United States and Canada were extremely vague. The Treaty of Ghent (1814) which closed the War of 1812 provided for three commissions to arbitrate the Canadian boundary.

The first settled where the line should run in Passamaquoddy Bay at the eastern end. The second was absolutely unable to determine the northern boundary of Maine. When the question was referred to the king of the Netherlands he pleaded similar inability, and no decision was reached until 1842. The third commission carried the line from the 45th parallel through the St. Lawrence and the Lakes to where Huron and Superior meet. Another portion of the boundary was settled in 1818, when the two nations agreed that the line should extend from the northwest corner of the Lake of the Woods due south to the 49th parallel and then due west to the "Great Stony Mountains," as the Rockies were then called.[1]

In the meantime (1817), Secretary of State Richard Rush and the British Minister Charles Bagot had arranged an agreement by which both nations agreed to maintain on the Great Lakes only such vessels as were necessary to police the waterways. Desire to promote friendship and the need for economy were behind the Rush-Bagot agreement, and both purposes have been accomplished. As a result, the world has had the amazing spectacle of a 3000-mile frontier absolutely undefended.

THE WEBSTER-ASHBURTON TREATY. Three parts of the Canadian boundary remained to be determined—that which separated Maine and New Brunswick, that between Lake Huron and the Lake of the Woods, and the Oregon boundary. The first two were finally settled in 1842 by the Webster-Ashburton Treaty. That any agreement could be made at this time was a miracle of diplomacy. There were periods during the late 'thirties when relations between the United States and Great Britain were strained almost to the breaking point. English writers had sharply criticized American civilization, American citizens had aided a Canadian revolt, and the militia of Maine and New Brunswick were ready to fight at the drop of the hat in the Aroostook Valley (the "Aroostook War"). But there were also peaceful influences at work—in particular, the fact that England, as her manufactures developed, was becoming more dependent upon American food and cotton, and had no desire for war.

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[1] The Treaty of 1783 had said that the line was to run from the Lake of the Woods "on a due west course to the Mississippi," but this was impossible as the Mississippi was east and south of the Lake of the Woods.

Negotiations between Lord Ashburton and Secretary of State Webster finally resulted in establishing the boundary line as it now exists in Maine and also between Lake Huron and the Lake of the Woods, an agreement which gave to the United States 7000 of the 12,000 square miles in dispute in Maine, including the fertile Aroostook Valley (see map, Fig. 9).

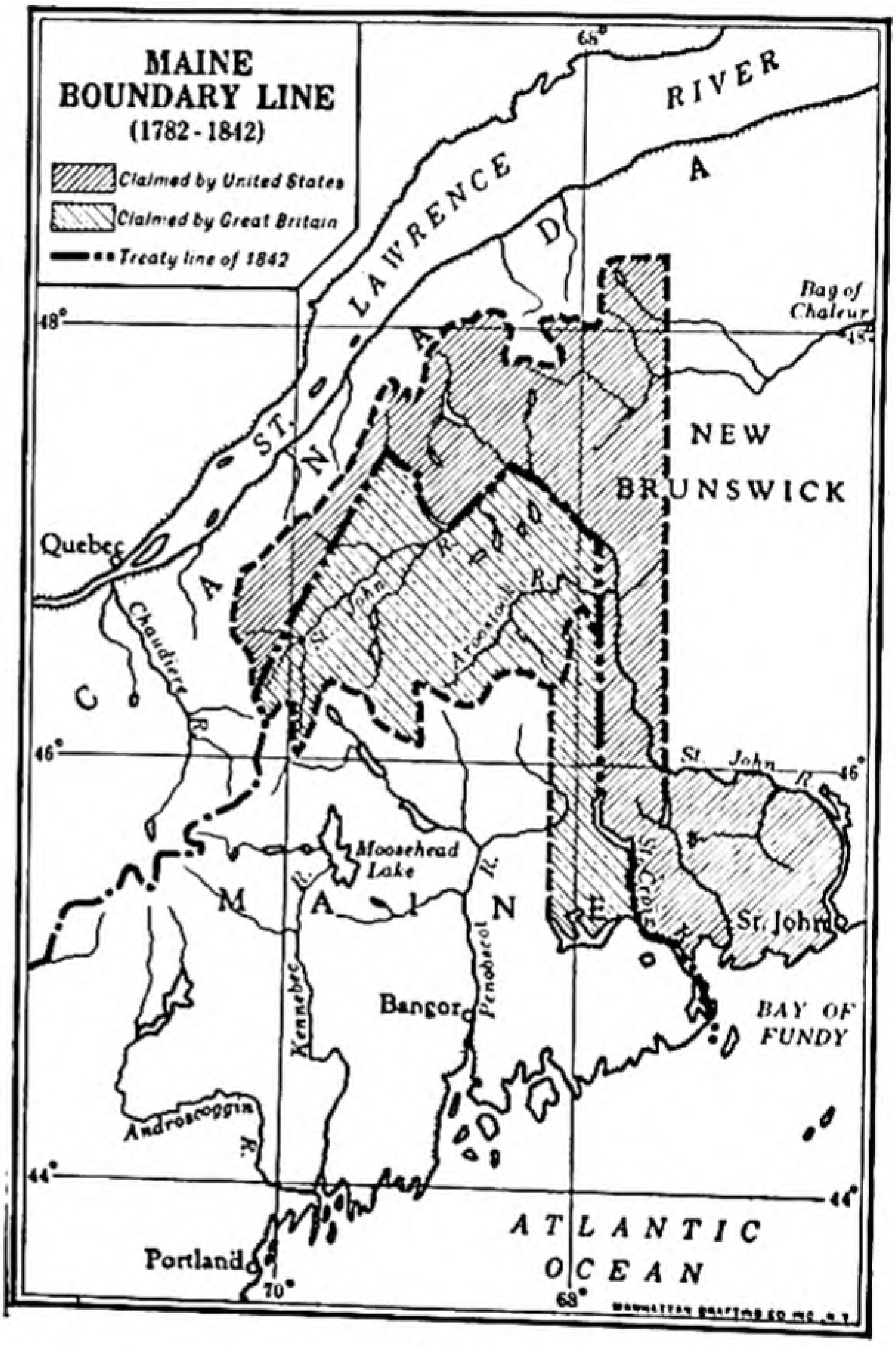
MAINE
BOUNDARY LINE
(1782-1842)
Claimed by United States
Claimed by Great Britain
Treaty line of 1842
ST. LAWRENCE RIVER
CANADA
NEW BRUNSWICK
MAINE
Quebec
Chaudiere R.
St. John R.
Aroostook R.
Moosehead Lake
Kennebec R.
Penobscot R.
Bangor
Androscoggin R.
Portland
Bay of Chaleur
St. John R.
St. Croix R.
St. John
BAY OF FUNDY
ATLANTIC OCEAN
48°
46°
44°
68°
70°

FIG. 9

4. The Oregon Country. When the boundary was drawn in 1818 from the Lake of the Woods to the Rockies, the commissioners could reach no agreement about Oregon and had provided for joint occupation to this region for ten years. In 1827 the agreement was renewed for an indefinite period, either party having the right to end it upon a year's notice. Originally four nations had claimed the land between the 42° and 54°40′—Spain, Russia, England and the United States. Spain gave up all claims in the Florida Treaty of 1819 and Russia withdrew in 1824, leaving the field to England and the United States.

England's claims rested upon her trading posts which had existed since the beginning of the century, and her monopolization of the fur business from the War of 1812 to around 1840. American claims were based upon the discovery of the Columbia River by Captain Gray in 1792, the explorations of Lewis and Clark, 1804-06, the founding of Astoria in 1811, and upon settlement at the Willamette Valley in the early 'forties. The coming of American settlers was important for it was one influence which led the Hudson's Bay Company of Great Britain to withdraw its headquarters from the Columbia to Vancouver Island.

The key to this region was the Columbia Valley, and more than once the United States had suggested the 49th parallel as the proper boundary, but England refused. By 1840 the United States was thoroughly interested in Oregon, and in the expansionist fever of the early 'forties she demanded as far north as 54° 40′. The Democrats, taking advantage of this feeling, fought the election of 1844 on an expansionist platform, and "Fifty-four forty or fight" and the "Whole of Oregon or none" were slogans of the campaign.

Following the election of Polk, Congress voted to end the agreement of joint occupation. But "Fifty-four forty or fight" was largely a bluff and a vote-catching phrase. The Democrats were more interested in Texas than Oregon, and war with Mexico was impending. Two wars at the same time were out of the question, for few Americans were willing to go that far to obtain the region north of 49°. Likewise, England, with a potato famine in Ireland and Scotland, and in need of food and cotton, had no desire for war. Sir Robert Peel, the British prime minister, now offered to make a treaty on the basis of 49°, the line that the United States had often suggested and had as many times been refused. As a result, the 1818 line along the 49th parallel was carried to the Pacific but Vancouver Island was left to Great Britain (see map, Fig. 10).

WE EXPAND THROUGH THE USE OF FORCE

5. **The Texan Revolution.** Although the western boundary of Louisiana was anything but clear, there appears to have been little in the claim advanced by many Americans that our purchase included Texas. At any rate, we surrendered any claims to Texas in the Florida Treaty of 1819, which made the Sabine and not the Rio Grande the western

boundary. Shortly thereafter, Mexico won her independence from Spain and Texas became part of the Mexican nation.

AMERICAN SETTLERS. In 1819 Moses Austin, a Connecticut Yankee, obtained from the Spanish government permission to settle an American colony in Texas. The government donated the land and granted freedom from taxes for a period of years. The settlers, on their part, were to become Mexican citizens and adopt the Catholic faith. Moses Austin died before the plan could be carried out, but his son, Stephen F. Austin, finally brought in the first band of settlers. Similar inducements were offered to others, and during the next decade around 20,000 American frontiersmen—ranchers, cotton growers, small farmers, and adventurers of various types—pushed into Texas.

In the meantime, Mexico won her independence from Spain. Within a few years trouble developed between the Mexican government and the American settlers. Above all, was the fact that the Americans in Texas were used to a much different way of living from that of the Mexicans. There were quarrels over taxation and the desire of the Americans to rule themselves. This latter demand the Mexican government refused and, going a step farther it forbade any more immigration from the United States. Another cause of friction was the Mexican effort to abolish slavery which meant ruin to Texan slaveholders.

TEXAN REBELS. In such a situation, revolt was bound to come. It came in 1836 after the Mexican government proclaimed a new constitution which put an end to the right of Texans to rule themselves. Santa Anna, president of Mexico, moved rapidly to put down the revolution. Two hundred Texans who refused to retreat from the Alamo, a fortified mission in San Antonio, were surrounded by 3000 Mexicans (1836), and when the Alamo was finally carried by assault every American had been either killed or wounded. The wounded were mercilessly executed by Santa Anna as traitors. Sam Houston, leader of the Texan army, retreated before the Mexicans until he had maneuvered them into an unfavorable position at the San Jacinto River, when his followers, shouting "Remember the Alamo," turned upon the Mexicans, scattered them to the four winds and captured Santa Anna. After San Jacinto, Mexico was unable to reconquer her province. The Texans now ratified a constitution, chose Sam Houston as president, and sent an envoy to Washington to demand either annexation or recognition as an independent republic.

AMERICAN ATTITUDE TOWARD TEXAS. Under the circumstances, it was quite natural that Mexico should become increasingly suspicious of the United States and that the relations between the two nations should become increasingly tense. During the Texan revolution President Jackson had maintained a neutral attitude, but many American sympathizers

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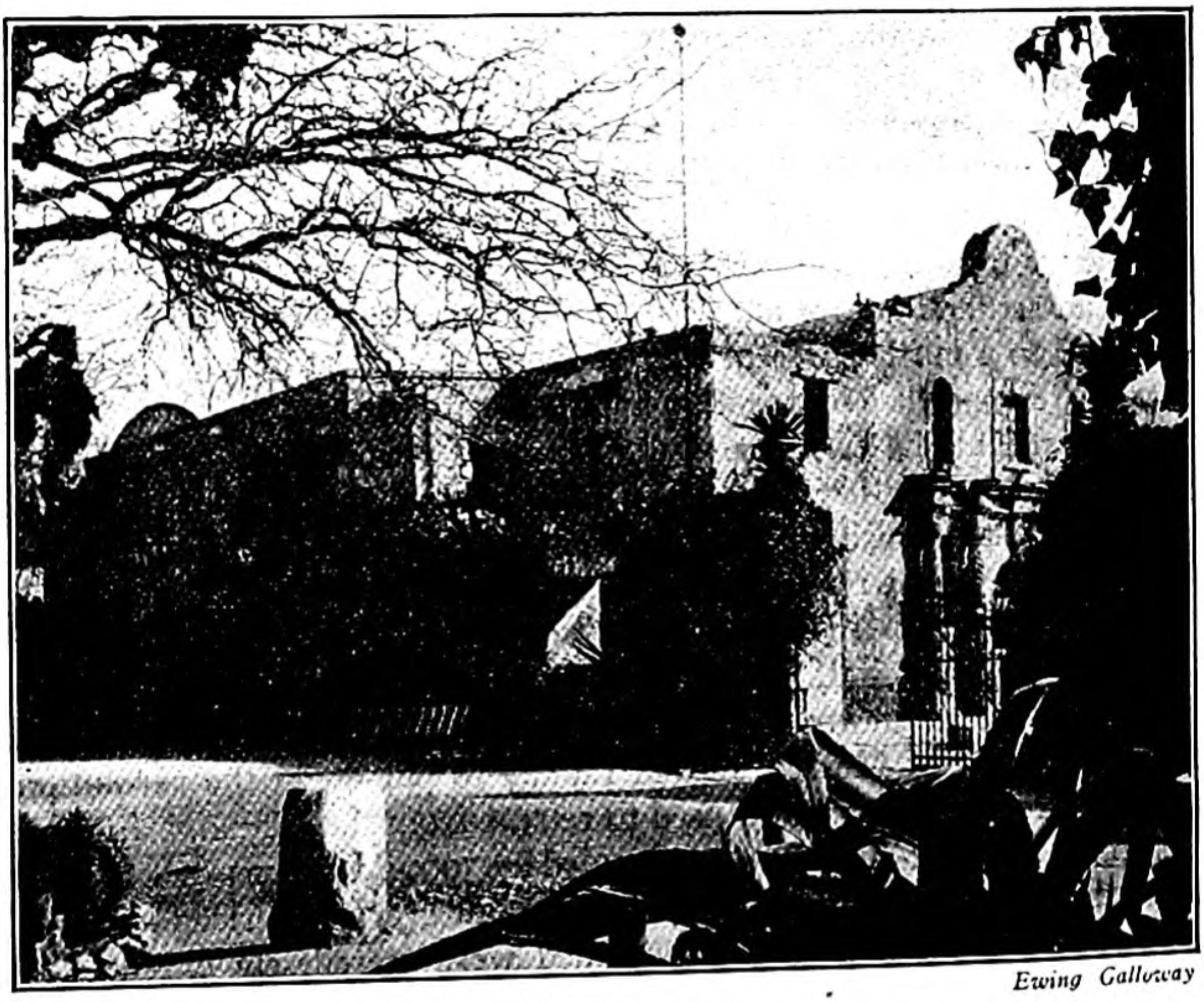
had enlisted under the Texan lone star flag, and for this Mexico held the whole nation responsible. When the demand for annexation or recognition came, Jackson sidestepped. He was at this time chiefly interested in getting his political friend and adviser, Martin Van Buren, elected as his successor, and was anxious to keep the Texan question out of the campaign. By this time many Americans, particularly John Quincy Adams, had come to the erroneous conclusion that the settlement, revolution and annexation of Texas was a deep-dyed conspiracy on the part of the South to add new slave territory to the Union. In the face of all this, Jackson avoided annexation, and only on the last day but one of his administration did he even recognize the independence of Texas.



Ewing Galloway

THE ALAMO

A Franciscan mission house built about 1722, and an excellent example of Spanish church architecture of the colonial period. It was here that William B. Travis and his brave band held out for 12 days against the Mexican army. "Remember the Alamo" became the battle cry of the Texan Revolution.

6. The War with Mexico. For ten years the Lone Star State of Texas maintained her independence, and her leaders during these years were desirous of securing annexation by the United States.

ANNEXATION OF TEXAS. Slavery continued to be the chief stumbling block to annexation during this period. As the years went by, however, the desire on the part of the slaveholding South to add new cotton-producing territory became keener, and it was aided by the expansionist fever that gripped the nation. When Tyler (elected as a Whig, but really a southern Democrat) succeeded to the Presidency after the death of Harrison he determined to force the issue, and negotiated a treaty of annexation, only to have it rejected by the Senate. Then came the campaign of 1844 in which the Democrats urged the annexation of Texas. They won the election and Tyler interpreted the result as a desire on the part of the nation for Texas. He immediately brought up the question again, urging that annexation be authorized by joint resolution.[1] Such a resolution was passed providing that Texas might enter the Union as an American state, that four additional states might be carved out of her territory with her consent and that the United States should handle the question of boundary line disputes. Texas accepted annexation by popular vote in July, 1845.

DECLARATION OF WAR. Mexico had never recognized the independence of Texas, and when that state was annexed, Mexico broke off diplomatic relations with the United States. President Polk, nevertheless, sent a representative to Mexico, with instructions to offer to purchase New Mexico and California and to make an offer for the settlement of the disputed boundary between Texas and Mexico. Our representative was not even received. Polk, however, had no intention of giving up his ambition to obtain California, and was ready to force a war in order to get it. Members of his cabinet advised waiting until Mexico should commit some act which would allow the President to place the blame upon her, and such an event occurred on April 25, 1846.

General Taylor had been sent to occupy the disputed territory between the Nueces and the Rio Grande Rivers, and on the above date a Mexican force crossed the Rio Grande, engaged in a skirmish with a detachment of United States cavalry, and killed or captured them. Polk lost no time in sending his war message (May 11, 1846), asserting that "after reiterated menaces, Mexico has passed the boundary of the United States, has invaded our territory and shed American blood upon American soil." "War exists," he continued, "and, notwithstanding all our efforts to avoid it, exists by the act of Mexico alone."

Such arguments are hardly convincing to the historian. The land which Polk called "American soil" was in dispute, with Mexico having the better claim. Unconvincing also is the statement that "notwithstanding all our efforts to avoid it, [war] exists by the act of Mexico alone." Taylor's invasion of disputed territory could hardly result in anything else but friction which would lead to war.[1] However, the arguments were good enough for Congress, which declared war two days later.

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[1] A joint resolution required only a majority vote, whereas a treaty needed two-thirds of the Senate. The vote on the resolution was 27-25 in the Senate and 120-98 in the House.

Although the war was eyed coldly by many Whigs of the Northeast who feared the further extension of slavery, it was in general enthusiastically supported, and was aggressively waged by the government. The war is logically divided into three campaigns: (1) the campaign in northern Mexico under General Zachary Taylor; (2) the invasion from Vera Cruz to Mexico City under General Winfield Scott, and (3) Colonel Stephen Kearny's expedition against California.

CAMPAIGN IN NORTHERN MEXICO. Old "Rough and Ready" Taylor was an aggressive frontier fighter of the old school. Without waiting for a declaration of war, he crossed the Rio Grande, defeated the Mexicans in several engagements, and after a three days' battle took Monterey. By this time the President was convinced that Mexico City could not be captured by a movement from the north, and he ordered Taylor to send half of his force of 10,000 men to join Scott at Vera Cruz. Taylor disgustedly complied, but continued southward as far as Buena Vista, where in a hard-fought battle he defeated Santa Anna whose force was four times his own. Buena Vista ended the campaign in the north, and Taylor was left undisturbed for the remainder of the war.

ADVANCE AGAINST MEXICO CITY. Scott was a vain and boastful soldier ("Fuss and Feathers," his soldiers called him), but an able commander. Landing in March, 1847, he captured Vera Cruz after a five-day bombardment, and commenced his 250-mile march through the mountains to Mexico City. He defeated the Mexicans who were prepared to dispute his advance at the difficult mountain pass at Cerro Gordo, and early in August was within striking distance of Mexico City. Stiff fighting brought a request for an armistice. Scott granted it, but it was soon evident that the wily Santa Anna was simply playing for time. Operations were resumed, and after several severe engagements Mexico City surrendered on September 17.

CONQUEST OF NEW MEXICO AND CALIFORNIA. In the meantime, Kearny with 1800 men left Fort Leavenworth on the upper Missouri for

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[1] A country lawyer, Abraham Lincoln, serving his only term in Congress as Representative from Illinois, introduced in 1847 the "Spot Resolutions" questioning whether the spot on which Taylor's scouts had been killed was our own soil. Some historians hold, nevertheless, that Mexico by this attack deliberately chose war. Polk's anxiety to bring on war and obtain California was due in part to his fear that England might obtain it. In May, of 1846 the Mexican president offered to transfer it to England in exchange for a loan, but the proposal was rejected.

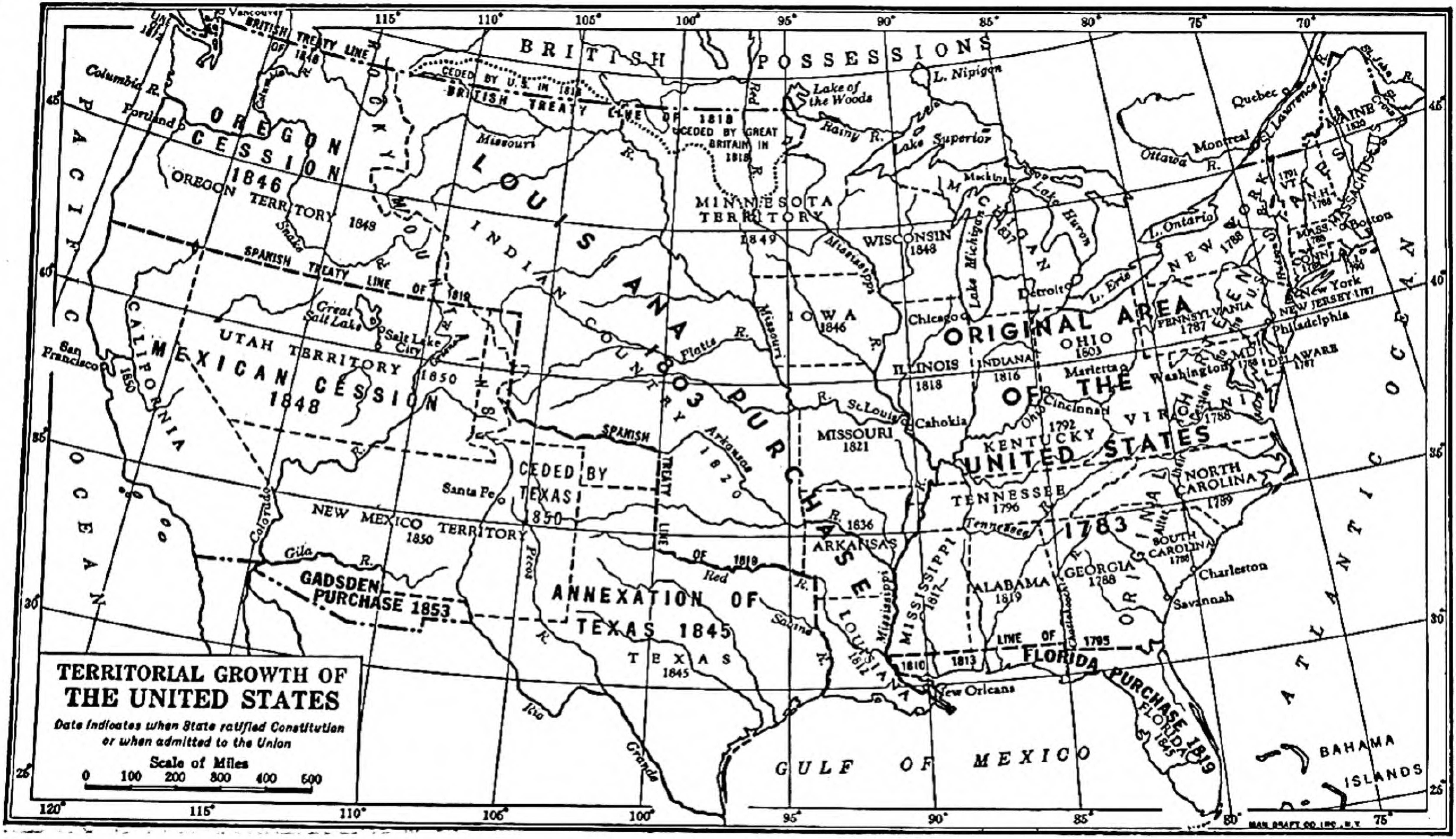
TERRITORIAL GROWTH OF THE UNITED STATES
Date indicates when State ratified Constitution or when admitted to the Union
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
BRITISH POSSESSIONS
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
BAHAMA ISLANDS
ORIGINAL AREA OF THE UNITED STATES 1783
LOUISIANA PURCHASE 1803
OREGON CESSION 1846
MEXICAN CESSION 1848
ANNEXATION OF TEXAS 1845
GADSDEN PURCHASE 1853
FLORIDA PURCHASE 1819
CEDED BY TEXAS 1850
CEDED BY U.S. IN 1818
CEDED BY GREAT BRITAIN IN 1818
BRITISH TREATY LINE OF 1846
BRITISH TREATY LINE OF 1818
SPANISH TREATY LINE OF 1819
LINE OF 1795
OREGON TERRITORY 1848
UTAH TERRITORY 1850
NEW MEXICO TERRITORY 1850
MINNESOTA TERRITORY 1849
INDIAN COUNTRY 1820
ROCKY MOUNTAINS
CALIFORNIA 1850
TEXAS 1845
LOUISIANA 1812
ARKANSAS 1836
MISSOURI 1821
IOWA 1846
WISCONSIN 1848
MICHIGAN 1837
ILLINOIS 1818
INDIANA 1816
OHIO 1803
KENTUCKY 1792
TENNESSEE 1796
MISSISSIPPI 1817
ALABAMA 1819
GEORGIA 1788
SOUTH CAROLINA 1788
NORTH CAROLINA 1789
VIRGINIA 1788
MD. 1788
DELAWARE 1787
PENNSYLVANIA 1787
NEW JERSEY 1787
NEW YORK 1788
CONN. 1788
R.I. 1790
MASS. 1788
N.H. 1788
VT. 1791
MAINE 1820
FLORIDA 1845
1810
1813
Vancouver
Portland
San Francisco
Salt Lake City
Santa Fe
Great Salt Lake
Chicago
Detroit
St. Louis
Cahokia
Cincinnati
Marietta
Washington
Philadelphia
New York
Boston
Quebec
Montreal
Charleston
Savannah
New Orleans
Columbia R.
Snake
Missouri
Platte R.
Arkansas
Red R.
Sabine R.
Pecos R.
Rio Grande
Gila R.
Colorado
Mississippi
Ohio
Tennessee
Chattahoochee
St. Lawrence R.
Ottawa R.
Rainy R.
Lake of the Woods
L. Nipigon
Lake Superior
Lake Michigan
Lake Huron
L. Erie
L. Ontario
Mackinac
St. John R.
120° 115° 110° 105° 100° 95° 90° 85° 80° 75° 70°
45° 40° 35° 30° 25°
MAN. BRAFT. CO. INC., N.Y.

FIG. 10

Santa Fe. New Mexico fell without a blow, and Kearny pushed on to California with but 100 men. However, this force was sufficient. Captain Frémont of the engineers, then engaged in an exploratory expedition, had already aroused the American settlers in California to revolt under the insignia of a white flag with a bear painted on it. Commodore Sloat, in command of the American fleet, now seized San Francisco, and the "Bear Flag revolt" developed into a conquest by the United States. One minor engagement by Kearny completed the occupation of California.

7. Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. With New Mexico and California in American hands, with Taylor firmly established in northern Mexico, and with Scott's expeditionary force seated in "the halls of the Montezumas," there was nothing for the Mexicans but peace on American terms. Accordingly, the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo was drawn up between the United States and Mexico in 1848. By this treaty Mexico acknowledged our title to Texas, ceded New Mexico and Upper California, and in return received $15,000,000 and the payment by the United States of the claims of her citizens against Mexico (see map, Fig. 10). The completeness of the victory might have warranted additional demands, but Polk's restraint was the part of wisdom.

Boundary line disputes still plagued United States-Mexican relations and James Gadsden was sent in 1853 to negotiate for land south of the Gila River. The land purchased for $10,000,000 was particularly desired to provide a southern route for a trans-continental railroad and is known as the Gadsden Purchase (see map, Fig. 10).

NATIONALISM IS SAVED BY FORCE

8. International Aspects of the War between the States. The main problem of foreign diplomacy which confronted the Lincoln administration during the War between the States was the attitude of foreign nations, particularly England and France, toward the seceded southern states. The desire of the Confederacy, of course, was recognition by Europe of her status as an independent nation. This she expected to obtain because of the sympathy of the ruling classes in England and France for her cause, and because of the need of European manufacturers for her cotton.

In spite of these favorable factors, recognition of her independence was never obtained, for recognition by European governments would have broken their relations with the North and been cause for war. Two influences held England back, and incidentally France, for Napoleon III followed the British policy in his relations with the South. The growing certainty in England that northern victory meant the end of slavery won the support of the middle and working classes, notwithstanding the suffering caused by the decline in cotton imports. In the second place, England had to balance her need for cotton imports against a similar need for grain, and any action to bring in cotton might have operated to keep back wheat. Also to be considered were the profits of British trade with the North.

More than once England was on the verge of recognition, but her rulers waited until they were sure the South would win, and this situation never developed. In the meantime, Great Britain, followed by other nations, issued a declaration of neutrality. For this she was bitterly criticized in the North, but she had no other course. Lincoln had proclaimed a blockade of southern ports, and since England had hundreds of ships trading with the South, she could hardly avoid recognizing the existence of war in order that she might gain for her commercial interests the rights due them as neutrals.

9. Diplomacy During the War between the States. With the exception of the problem of the French in Mexico already discussed (*VI*, *7*), the story of our foreign relations during the War between the States is largely concerned with our dealings with Great Britain. Here we were fortunately represented by Charles Francis Adams, son of one President and grandson of another, and a man who proved himself the equal of either in the diligence and skill with which he labored to protect the interests of his government.

THE *Trent* AFFAIR. Early in the rebellion, President Davis of the Confederacy, sent James M. Mason and John Slidell as special commissioners to England and France respectively, to plead for recognition of confederate independence and a breaking of the blockade. The British mail steamer *Trent*, upon which they had taken passage, was overhauled by the United States man-of-war, *San Jacinto*, under the command of Captain Wilkes. The two confederate commissioners were forcibly removed and taken to Boston. The stopping of neutral ships and the forcible removal of individuals was what England had done for years during the Napoleonic Wars, and this was a taste of her own medicine. The North applauded with enthusiasm, and Wilkes was hailed as a hero. However, although England had always maintained the legality of this practice, she now reversed herself. Her government demanded the surrender of the commissioners in words which practically threatened war, commenced extensive naval preparations, and sent 8000 troops to Canada.

Obviously a war with England at such a time was out of the question. Secretary of State Seward informed the British that Wilkes had acted without instructions, and Mason and Slidell were released. But Seward took the opportunity to point out that in meeting the demands of Great

Britain we were only following a policy upon which we had always insisted.

THE DOCTRINE OF ULTIMATE DESTINATION. In another way England was given some of her own medicine, but in doing so we shifted from our earlier position. During the Napoleonic Wars England finally took the position that the "broken voyage" did not neutralize contraband, that is, that commodities from the French West Indies brought to the United States but actually destined for France did not thus become neutral goods.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD

Seward (1801-72), entering politics as a Whig, became governor of New York in 1840, and United States Senator in 1849. A leading candidate for the Republican nomination in 1860, he was made Secretary of State by Lincoln and was continued by Johnson. In office he was an ardent expansionist.

During the War between the States much contraband was shipped from England to Nassau in the Bahamas and to Matamoros, Mexico, from which points they reached the Confederacy. Until the end of the war it was possible for specially constructed ships to run the blockade from Nassau to confederate ports. If this was to be effectively prevented, it was necessary to seize this contraband on the first leg of its journey. Consequently, during the latter part of the war British ships carrying contraband were seized before they reached neutral ports. Then they were brought to American ports, and the contraband condemned. This was very closely in line with the British belief that the final landing place of the goods determined their neutrality. Consequently, the British government refused to interfere because the United States was following an English practice. In this way the United States shifted from the stand she had taken in the Napoleonic Wars, only to be later put at a disadvantage during the First World War.

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE CONFEDERATE CRUISERS. It has long been considered a serious violation of the obligations of a neutral to allow her ports to be used as the base of operations against a nation at war.

The English law specifically forbade the equipping or arming of a vessel within her jurisdiction to be used against a friendly state. In spite of this, she knowingly allowed the *Florida* and later the *Alabama* to be built in British shipyards for the purpose of preying upon northern commerce. The *Florida*, under a British flag and captain, sailed for the Bahamas in 1862 where she was transferred to the Confederacy, took on her armament and began her career of destruction. In the same year the *Alabama*, designed for the same purpose, was completed. Our ambassador, Charles Francis Adams, protested strongly against her sailing, but before the British prime minister moved to stop her, the *Alabama* had also departed to take on her arms and crew at the Azores.

Against this policy of the British government Adams maintained unceasing protest, and he finally wrote to the prime minister with reference to the possible sailing of another confederate ship, "It would be superfluous in me to point out to your lordship that this is war." The prime minister by this time had no desire to attach Great Britain to the declining fortunes of the Confederacy, and the practice stopped. England's defense was that the mere building of a ship in her dockyards did not hold her responsible for the later career of that ship after it was armed, that she had as much right to sell arms to the Confederacy as to the North, and that if the ship took on British arms elsewhere that was none of her business. Whether or not the letter of neutrality was violated, there was no doubt that the spirit had been.

"THE *Alabama* CLAIMS." The *Florida* captured over 40 American merchant vessels, most of which were destroyed; and the *Alabama* destroyed 47. But more than this, the destruction of northern ships caused insurance rates to rise so rapidly that many owners sold their ships, thus hastening the decline of the American merchant marine. The fire of northern resentment against England rose to white heat. Expressing this sentiment, Charles Sumner, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, demanded that Great Britain pay not only for the direct losses caused by the *Alabama* and other ships built in England, but also for the cost of indirect losses due to decline in commerce and prolongation of the war.[1] England, on the other hand, as the greatest maritime nation of the world, stood to gain by upholding the principles which we had insisted upon during the war, and was not unwilling to arbitrate.

TREATY OF WASHINGTON. An agreement was reached during the administration of Andrew Johnson to arbitrate the claims, but the Senate refused to accede. Grant's Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish, continued negotiations, with the result that the Treaty of Washington was signed in 1871. In it England expressed "the regret felt by Her Majesty's Government for the escape under whatever circumstances, of the *Alabama* and other vessels from British control and for the depredations committed by those vessels." "This treaty," says John Bassett Moore, "provided for four distinct arbitrations, the largest number ever established under a single convention, and by reason of this fact as well as the magnitude of the questions submitted, was undoubtedly the greatest treaty of arbitration that the world had ever seen." The four problems were: (1) North Atlantic fisheries, (2) the boundary line in Puget Sound between the United States and British Columbia, (3) the "*Alabama* claims," and (4) other financial claims of British and American citizens. Separate commissions or arbitrators were to act on each one.

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[1] Sumner suggested a sum of over $2,125,000,000 and intimated that England might cancel her debt by the cession of Canada and her other colonies on the mainland of America.

An agreement on the fisheries was finally patched up to last ten years, but no final settlement came until 1910 (*VI, 1*). The boundary line was settled by the German Emperor in favor of the United States, and is the existing line. For the claims other than the *Alabama,* British citizens were awarded $1,929,819, while all American claims were dismissed.

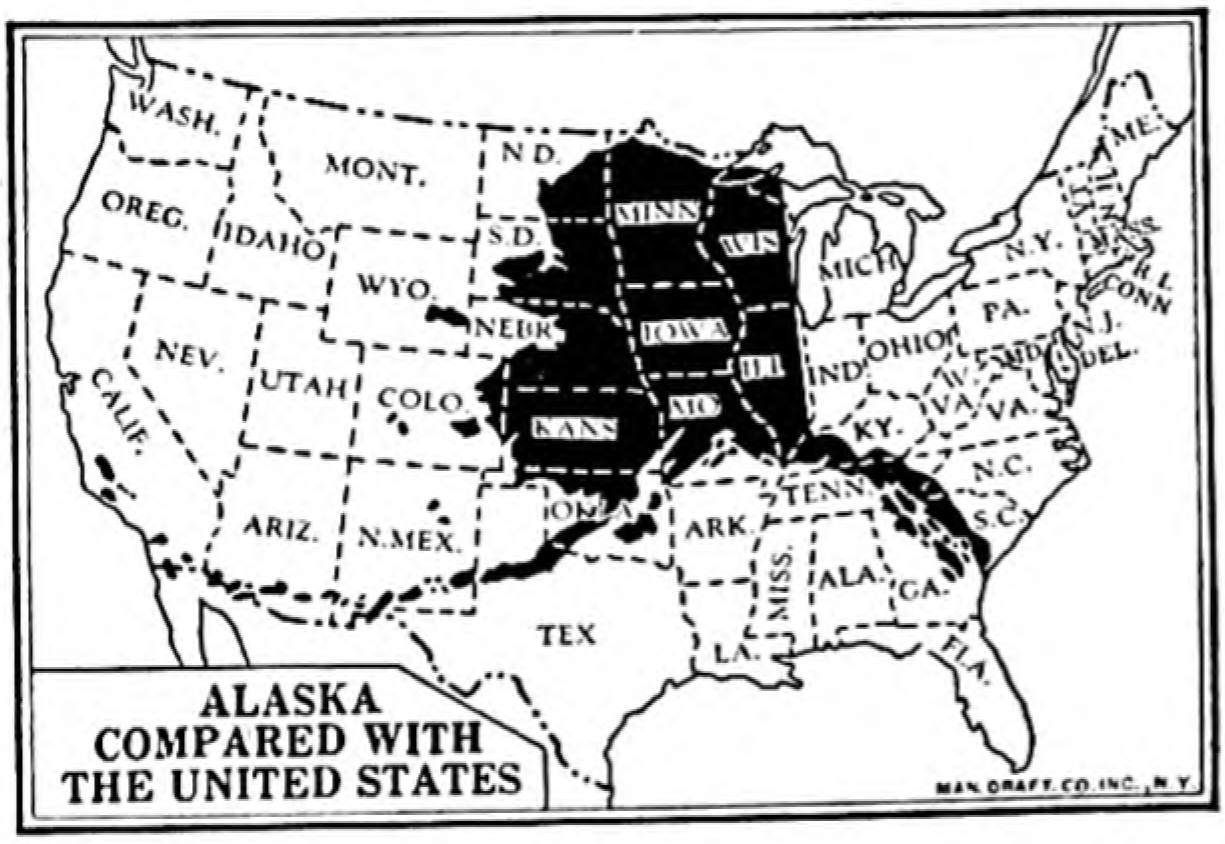

FIG. 11

It was the *Alabama* question, however, which received the greatest attention. A board of arbitration threw out the American claim for indirect losses, but took the ground that England had failed to observe her obligations as a neutral nation, and awarded the United States $15,500,000. The Treaty of Washington and its outcome mark an important step forward in the settlement of disputes by arbitration rather than war.

10. Purchase of Alaska. The fever for expansion, so strong in the 'forties, had not entirely subsided in the 'sixties. Seward, in fact, has been called by one historian "the greatest advocate and prophet of territorial expansion who ever held the office of Secretary of State."[1] On the other hand, one European nation, Russia, was weary of imperialist adventures in America. Her Alaskan possessions were a liability rather than an asset—profitless at the moment and sure to fall into the lap of England in case of war.

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[1] In addition to purchasing Alaska, Seward wanted to buy the Danish West Indies and annex Santo Domingo. This is discussed in the next chapter.

During negotiations regarding concessions for fur traders Russia offered to sell. One evening the Russian minister informed Seward that the Czar had agreed to sell Alaska for $7,200,000. The energetic Seward immediately insisted that the government representatives work all night to prepare a treaty, and the following morning it was ready for signature. There was little enthusiasm in this country for "Seward's icebox," and none whatsoever for increasing the public debt which already amounted to nearly $3,000,000,000. In spite of this feeling the Senate ratified the treaty and over a year later the House reluctantly appropriated the necessary money.

11. **Continental Boundaries Completed.** With the purchase of Alaska, the United States achieved the territorial boundaries which she now holds on the American continent. "Manifest Destiny," that is, the fate and desire of the United States to expand to the Pacific, had been more than fulfilled. This gaining of territory through purchase, settlement and conquest had behind it a certain logic. Back of it was the driving force of a strong, aggressive people pressing upon land weakly held by Indians of a lower civilization or by foreign nations unable to take advantage of their opportunities. Louisiana, Florida, Texas, Oregon and California were the great mileposts which marked our continental expansion. But the completion of our continental advance does not end the story of our territorial acquisitions. A new driving force, "economic imperialism," was to lead us at the end of the century into the new and untried paths of foreign conquest. This story will be taken up in the next chapter.

Can You Use These Terms?

A. Underscore the phrases or expressions that correctly complete the following statements. There may be more than one correct response to a statement.

1. The word "cession" refers to: (a) a period of time; (b) the turning over of territory to another nation; (c) seceding from the Union.
2. When Americans spoke about their "Manifest Destiny" they were referring primarily to: (a) the fact that the United States was a strong nation; (b) our inevitable expansion westward to the Pacific; (c) the Monroe Doctrine.
3. The expression "Fifty-four Forty or Fight" was concerned with the location of: (a) our Maine boundary; (b) the boundary between Texas and Mexico; (c) the northern boundary of the Oregon Country.
4. The phrase "The Lone Star State" refers to: (a) California; (b) Oregon; (c) Texas.

Do You Know the Facts?

B. Match the following items in the right-hand column with the proper choices in the left-hand column. To do this insert the number or numbers of choices in the parentheses in front of the proper item or items.

CHOICES	ITEMS
1. Source of grave difficulty with England during the War between the States	a. ( ) Stephen F. Austin
2. Led Texan revolt in 1836	b. ( ) Rush - Bagot Agreement
3. Represented the United States in England during the War between the States	c. ( ) Santa Anna
4. Withdrew war vessels from the Great Lakes	d. ( ) Zachary Taylor
5. Led first American settlers into Texas	e. ( ) James Gadsden
6. Took Mexico City in 1847	f. ( ) Trent Affair
7. Negotiated for purchase of added Mexican territory for use as a railroad route.	g. ( ) Sam Houston
8. Won battle of Monterey	h. ( ) Webster-Ashburton Treaty
9. Leader of Mexican forces	i. ( ) Charles Francis Adams
10. Ended the Maine boundary problem	j. ( ) Winfield Scott

C. Indicate the chronological order of the events mentioned in each of the following groups by placing the letters **a, b, c** *in the appropriate parentheses.*

1. ( ) Louisiana Purchase
( ) Napoleon's seizure of Louisiana
( ) Pinckney or Spanish Treaty

3. ( ) Oregon Country boundary finally fixed
( ) Canadian boundary from Lake of the Woods to the Rockies settled
( ) Mexican Cession

5. ( ) Treaty of Washington of 1871
( ) Opening of the War between the States
( ) Construction of the *Florida* and *Alabama*

2. ( ) War of 1812
( ) Florida acquired from Spain
( ) Pinckney Treaty

4. ( ) Mexican Cession
( ) Mexican War
( ) Texan Revolution

D. Underscore the phrases or expressions that correctly complete the following statements. There may be more than one correct response to a statement.

1. Florida was acquired from Spain by: (a) the Pinckney Treaty; (b) purchase at the offer of Napoleon when he controlled Spain; (c) the Treaty of 1819 in which all Spanish territorial claims east of the Mississippi River were ceded to the United States.
2. Our boundary line on the North was completely established from the Atlantic to the Pacific by about: (a) 100 years ago; (b) 150 years ago; (c) 200 years ago.
3. The Texans revolted and broke away from Mexico in 1836 because: (a) Texans wanted to have "home-rule"; (b) Texans and Mexicans had little in common; (c) the Mexican government tried to do away with slavery in Mexican territory.
4. Texans, in particular, remember the Alamo because: (a) it marks a great Texan victory over Mexican troops; (b) every Texan defending the Alamo was killed, including the wounded; (c) the Alamo meant to Texans what Bataan means to us in the Second World War.
5. We annexed Texas in 1845 because: (a) the political party which won the election had been urging this; (b) the idea of Manifest Destiny gripped most of the nation; (c) the cotton planters wanted more land suited to cotton culture.
6. The underlying reason why the United States declared war on Mexico in 1846 was that: (a) Mexicans had invaded our territory; (b) Mexico had never acknowledged Texan independence; (c) our expansionist sentiment was strong enough to cause us to search for reasons to fight Mexico.
7. As a result of our war with Mexico we acquired: (a) the Mexican Cession; (b) what are now Washington and Oregon; (c) Texas.
8. The Treaty of Washington signed in 1871 is significant because it: (a) ended the War between the States; (b) provided for settlement of a series of international problems by means of arbitration; (c) provided for freedom of the seas.

Can You Use What You Have Learned?

E. Some of the following statements are true, some are false. Others may be opinions. If the statement is true, circle the letter **T**, *or the letter* **F** *if it is false. If it is an opinion, circle the letter* **O**. *If there is not sufficient evidence in the chapter to explain why the statement is an opinion, also circle the letters* **NI**.

1. **T F O NI** Jefferson was forced to set aside his belief that the Constitution must be interpreted strictly in order to purchase Louisiana.
2. **T F O NI** The boundaries of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 were quite clearly defined.
3. **T F O NI** With the Louisiana Purchase we acquired a number of boundary line disputes.

4. **T F O NI** We took over West Florida because we wanted to establish natural boundaries.
5. **T F O NI** Our Maine boundary line was established permanently at the close of the War of 1812.
6. **T F O NI** There are no fortifications on the boundary line between the United States and Canada.
7. **T F O NI** We were not justified in declaring war on Mexico in 1846.
8. **T F O NI** Our war with Mexico was an imperialistic war.
9. **T F O NI** Had Mexico been a more powerful country in 1846 we would not have declared war.
10. **T F O NI** By 1853 the area now containing the 48 states was entirely United States territory.
11. **T F O NI** The purchase of Alaska from Russia in 1867 has been more than justified.
12. **T F O NI** The Treaty of Washington of 1871 is a milestone in the history of international arbitration.

Summarizing Exercise

F. Place the events in the right-hand column in their proper time order in the left-hand column.

1. Treaty of Paris of 1783 establishing initial boundaries of the United States.
2.
3.
4. Texan Revolution, 1836
5.
6.
7. Mexican War, 1846
8.
9.

a. Oregon boundary settled
b. Louisiana Purchase
c. Gadsden Purchase
d. Acquisition of Florida
e. Mexican Cession
f. Annexation of Texas

Correspondence or Class Assignments

G. See general instructions under this heading, p. vi.

1. Name three territorial acquisitions of the United States which lie within what are now the boundaries of the United States proper. Describe: (a) the conditions which led up to one of these acquisitions; (b) the terms of this acquisition; (c) the resources this acquisition has made available to the American people.
2. Give an account of our war with Mexico touching upon: (a) underlying factors that led to this war; (b) steps between 1836 and 1846 that led to the outbreak of war; (c) campaigns and leaders.

3. Discuss the Treaty of Washington of 1871 touching upon: (a) nature and purpose of the Treaty; (b) specific problems for whose solution the Treaty provided the means; (c) its significance as a forward step in the solution of international problems.

Suggested Readings

Textbooks:

Good background reading concerning the content of this chapter may be found in: J. T. Adams, *The Epic of America*, chap. viii; J. S. Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, pp. 296-300, 368-70, 437-50; C. A. Beard and M. R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, I, pp. 394-402, chap. xiii, II, chap, xix; H. U. Faulkner, *American Political and Social History*, pp. 150-53, chaps. xiv, xviii, xxv, pp. 505-6. C. R. Fish, *The Path of Empire*, chaps. ii, iii, takes up our territorial growth. For specific areas, consult C. L. Skinner, *Adventurers of Oregon* and N. W. Stephenson, *Texas and the Mexican War.*

Biographies:

M. James, *The Raven—A Biography of Sam Houston*, is a lively account of the Texan leader.

Historical Novels:

Try: E. Hough, *Fifty-four Forty or Fight*; A. E. Barr, *Remember the Alamo*; F. Remington, *Crooked Trails* (the Rangers and the Texan revolution), for Oregon and Texas respectively. Jack London, *Call of the Wild* and *Smoke Bellew*, are stories of Alaska in gold rush days. W. M. Raine, *Yukon Trail*, is another good story set in Alaska.

CHAPTER VIII

Imperialism and Emergence From Isolation

THE UNITED STATES "TAKES UP THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN"

1. The Cuban Problem. The great American historian, Henry Adams, once wrote:

> In the end, far more than half the territory of the United States was the spoil of Spanish empire, rarely acquired with perfect propriety. To sum up the story in a single word, Spain had immense influence over the United States; but it was the influence of the whale over its captors,—the charm of a huge, helpless, and profitable victim.

When America won her independence, it will be recalled, almost all of the present United States, with the exception of the region obtained from England by the peace treaty, was Spanish territory. After revolutions in North and South America had wrested from her all of her continental possessions, Spain still owned islands in the West Indies, and of these Cuba was the most valuable.

SLAVEHOLDERS' INTEREST IN CUBA. During the fever of expansion which gripped the nation in the 'forties and 'fifties, the eyes of the southern slaveholder rested longingly upon Cuba, for that island offered a chance to erect a new slave state to compensate for California. Some southern statesmen feared that because of the chronic state of unrest in the island it might fall to England or become a black republic like Haiti. Polk offered to buy the island in 1848 for $100,000,000, but Spain contemptuously refused. The anxiety of the Pierce administration to obtain Cuba led to an extraordinary incident. Our ambassadors at Spain, France, and England, after a conference at Ostend, Belgium, issued (October, 1854) the "Ostend Manifesto."

> In the progress of human events the time has arrived [they said] when the vital interests of Spain are as seriously involved in the sale as those of the United States in the purchase. . . . After we shall have offered Spain a price for Cuba, . . and this shall have been refused . . . we shall be justified in wresting it from Spain, if we possess the power.

Although this came close to expressing the sentiment of the Pierce administration, the Manifesto was immediately rejected. The next administration under President Buchanan again took up the matter of purchase. The southern attitude was aptly expressed by Douglas. "It is our destiny to have Cuba," said he in 1858, "and it is folly to debate the question. It naturally belongs to the American continent."

ECONOMIC INTERESTS IN CUBA. Interest in Cuba subsided as a result of the War between the States and the end of the slave power, only to revive in the 'eighties as American economic interests there became important. The chief product of Cuba was sugar, and the United States was the principal market. By 1896 American investments in sugar, tobacco, iron properties and other interests amounted to $50,000,000, and Cuban-American commerce in 1893 totalled over $100,000,000.[1]

Notwithstanding considerable economic development, conditions in the island were unsatisfactory. A ten-year period of revolution, 1868-78, brought the emancipation of the slaves and promises of political reform, but the latter were unsatisfactory to the Cubans and revolutionary agitation continued. A terrific blow was struck at Cuban prosperity by the American tariff of 1890 which raised the duties on tobacco, and by the tariff of 1894 which removed sugar from the free list and placed on it a duty of 40 per cent. Economic depression brought another revolution (1895) and eventual American intervention.

In this revolution the rebels wisely risked no battles. They destroyed plantation buildings and railroads, levied assessments on plantation owners, forbade the grinding of sugar cane and shot laborers who persisted in working. All this was done in the belief that an economic breakdown would force concessions from Spain and perhaps intervention by the United States. At the same time the revolutionists kept up a ceaseless propaganda in the United States.

Spain met these tactics by gathering the population into concentration camps under the guard of troops where thousands died of hunger and disease. There was much unrestrained cruelty on both sides, but that committed by the Spaniards received the most publicity. Sensational newspapers sent correspondents to Cuba, printed fiery stories of Spanish oppression, and inflamed the minds of Americans, already naturally sympathetic toward the Cubans in their struggle for freedom.

2. The Approach of War. Two incidents made the situation worse. Fear for the safety of American citizens and property led to the sending of the battleship *Maine* to Havana on a friendly visit. In February, 1898,

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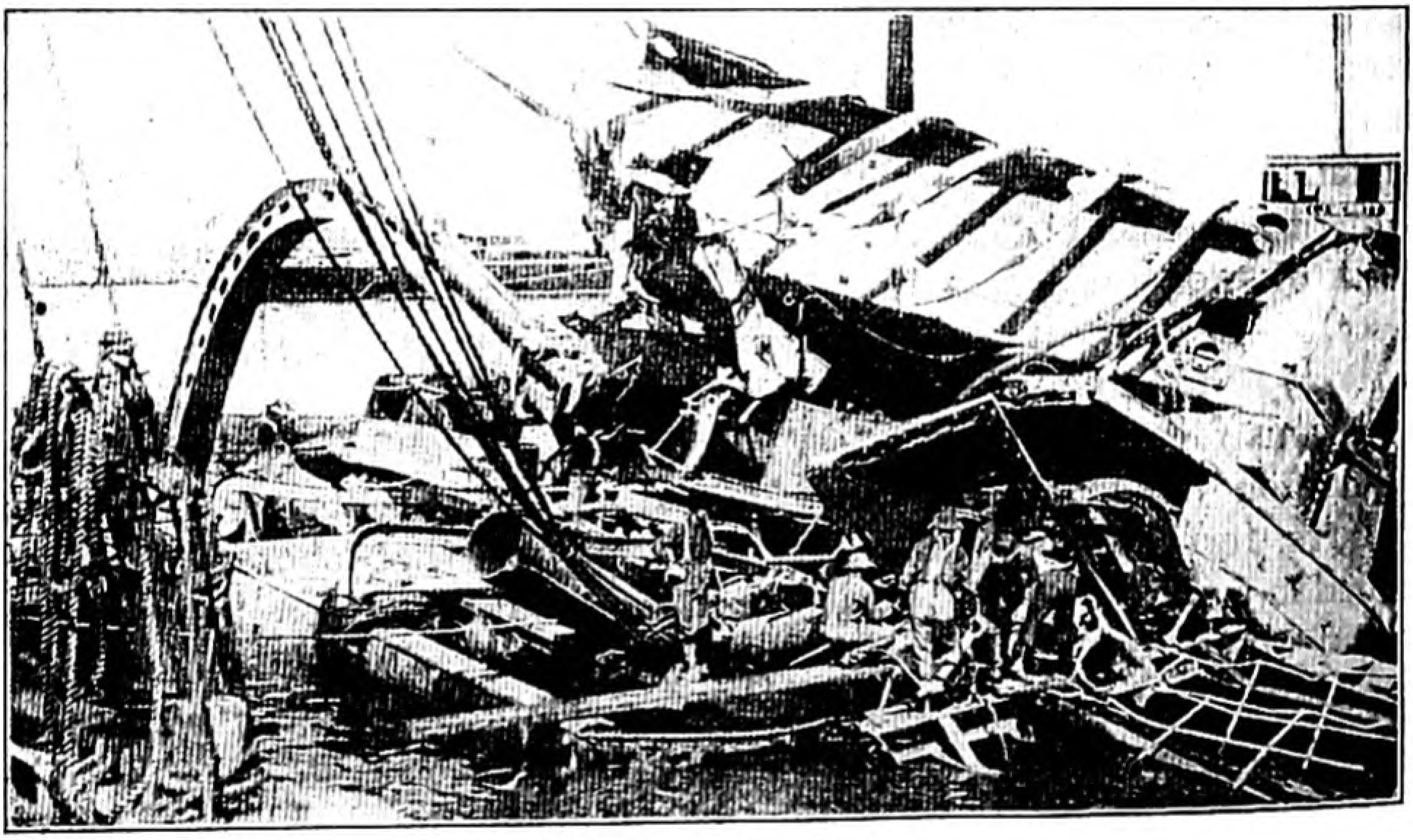
[1] In 1890 imports from Cuba represented 31 per cent of our total Latin American imports; exports to Cuba in the same year represented 20 per cent of our exports to Latin America.

VT. G RLS

it was destroyed by an explosion, with a loss of 260 of the crew. A naval court decided that the explosion had come from without but was unable to fix the blame. The American people, however, placed it upon Spain, and "Remember the Maine" became the war cry of the conflict soon to follow.

Shortly before, the New York *Journal* had made public a stolen letter from de Lome, the Spanish ambassador in America, to a friend in Cuba. In it he characterized McKinley as "weak and a caterer to the rabble, and, moreover a cheap politician who wishes to leave a door open to himself and to stand well with the jingoes of his party." De Lome resigned, but the incident further inflamed the American public. By this time the demand to put an end to Cuban atrocities was nation-wide, and there were many in high places who advocated military intervention.



WRECK OF THE *Maine*

A court of inquiry attempted in 1898 and again in 1911 to discover the cause for the destruction of the *Maine*. Both investigations attributed the explosion to outside causes, but were unable to place the blame. Even the evidence that the cause was from the outside does not appear to be absolutely conclusive.

In the early stages of the Cuban revolution Cleveland maintained strict neutrality. However, his successor, McKinley, took up the task of bringing peace to that distracted island. McKinley demanded immediate end to the practice of putting people in concentration camps and an armistice in Cuba. Our dealing with the Spanish government was skillfully conducted by the American representative and Spain consented to these demands. Twice our representative telegraphed that Spain was ready "to go as fast and far as she can," and he assured McKinley that she would agree to any disposition of Cuba that we demanded—home rule, independence, or annexation to the United States.

DECLARATION OF WAR. In spite of this complete surrender, McKinley sent to Congress his message on Cuba which could only mean war. Why did he do this? Historians are agreed that he must have yielded to the war sentiment in the country and the demands of his political advisers. On April 19, 1898, Congress passed a resolution recognizing the independence of Cuba, empowering the use of armed forces to make this effective, and made a pledge "to leave the government and control of the Island to its own people." This meant war, and it was a momentous decision, for it was to lead the United States into the uncertain paths of imperialism.

3. The Spanish-American War. Never was a war more popular. The American people, wearied with the grinding domestic conflicts over trusts, railroad regulation, tariffs and currency, turned with enthusiasm to a crusade to free an oppressed people. And never did a war turn out to be so absurdly easy. It lasted just 115 days and was a series of unchecked successes.

CONQUEST OF THE PHILIPPINES. Fortunately, active preparation for the expected war had been carried on in the Navy Department by Secretary Long and Assistant Secretary Theodore Roosevelt. Commodore George Dewey had been ordered to keep the Pacific fleet in readiness at Hong Kong, and in case of a declaration of war to proceed immediately against the Spanish fleet and the Philippines.

Within eight days after war was declared Dewey and his six ships were steaming toward Manila. Late on April 30 he sailed through the fortified passage leading into the harbor and at daybreak the next morning opened fire on the Spanish fleet. Five times he moved past the anchored Spanish ships, pouring into them a deadly fire. Shortly after noon the battle was over. The Spanish fleet of ten ships had been destroyed with a loss of 381 dead or wounded, while not a single American ship had been damaged and but seven men wounded.

The fortifications around Manila could not be taken without troops and land operations, and Dewey prepared to blockade the port. The blockade lasted two months before an American army arrived. Supported by Philippine rebels and Dewey's fleet, the army was prepared to move upon the Spanish works when Manila surrendered on August 13. News of an arrangement for peace signed the day before had not yet reached the Philippines.

CONQUEST OF CUBA. Upon the declaration of war, the Atlantic squadron was ordered to blockade Cuba and intercept a Spanish fleet under Admiral Cervera which had departed from the Cape Verde Islands for an unknown destination. There was some concern lest Cervera wreak destruction upon the cities on the Atlantic coast, but his fleet needed coal and he slipped into Santiago on the south coast of Cuba. Here the American squadron under Admirals Sampson and Schley had him securely "bottled up" by June 1.

In the meantime an American army was being hurriedly assembled for an invasion of Cuba. Unlike the Navy, the War Department was unprepared; and there chaos and inefficiency were the order of the day. Finally, about 17,000 men under General W. R. Shafter set sail from Tampa, Florida, for Cuba.[1] Equipped with winter uniforms for a tropical campaign and without adequate hospital equipment or an efficient sanitary corps, it is no wonder that thousands soon succumbed to malaria, typhoid, dysentery and yellow fever.

Fighting began on June 24 and during the next eight days, as the army advanced toward Santiago, a series of severe engagements were fought, including the capture of the fortified village of El Caney and the assault on San Juan Hill. Considering the number of troops engaged, the American casualties were exceedingly heavy, numbering 112 officers and 1460 men killed, wounded and missing. The advance, however, had carried the American army by the morning of July 2 to within a mile and a half of Santiago.

FALL OF SANTIAGO. With the American army in sight of the city, General Blanco, the Spanish commander, became convinced that surrender was only a question of time, and ordered Admiral Cervera to make a dash for freedom. Certain that such a move meant destruction, Cervera nevertheless obeyed orders, and in broad daylight on the morning of July 3, the Spanish fleet steamed out of the harbor and turned toward the west. Quickly the American warships pursued, and in a running fight which lasted less than four hours, every vessel of the Spanish fleet was destroyed. Santiago surrendered a few days later (July 17), and the campaign in Cuba was over. It was none too soon, for the American army was rapidly becoming ineffective because of disease.

PUERTO RICO. Four days after the surrender of Santiago, General Miles with an expeditionary force landed in Puerto Rico (July 21). He encountered little opposition and had almost completed the conquest when news came that an armistice had been signed. Mr. Dooley, famous humorist of the time, called the expedition "Gin'ral Miles' Gran' Picnic an' Moonlight Excursion."

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[1] Among them was the crack "Rough Riders" (horseless in Cuba) regiment commanded by Colonel Wood and Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt. Roosevelt had resigned his post as Assistant Secretary of the Navy to enlist in the "Rough Riders."

4. An Imperialistic Treaty. After the destruction of Cervera's fleet, Spain acknowledged defeat and asked for an armistice. McKinley granted it on condition that Spain (1) relinquish all claim to rule Cuba, (2) cede Puerto Rico to the United States, (3) cede an island in the Ladrone group in the Pacific,[1] and (4) agree that the American army occupy and hold Manila pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace. Spain agreed to these conditions, which she believed extremely harsh, for she could hardly do otherwise, and an armistice was declared August 12.

ANNEXATION OF THE PHILIPPINES. The major results of the war, with the exception of the disposition of the Philippines, were expressed in an agreement which preceded the armistice. The chief business of the Peace Commissioners, therefore, was to determine the future of the Philippines. The question was somewhat involved because American forces, ignorant of the armistice, had captured Manila on August 13. There was also the question of the attitude of the Filipinos who, under the encouragement of the United States, had revolted against Spain, but who had no more desire to be ruled by Americans than by Spaniards. After much hesitation, McKinley instructed his commissioners to insist that Spain give up the Philippines for $20,000,000.

Why did the United States take these islands? There seem to have been many reasons, but perhaps the three most important were: (1) Many American businessmen thought the islands would be the key to the natural resources and trade of the Far East. (2) It was felt by some people that if we did not take the Philippines, some other nation, possibly Great Britain, Germany, France or Japan, would do so. (3) There was a notion that the United States as a highly civilized nation ought to look after the Filipinos. President McKinley himself expressed this thought when he said, "There was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and to uplift and civilize and Christianize them, and by God's grace do the very best we could by them as our fellow men for whom Christ also died."

Probably the first of these three is the real reason why we paid Spain $20,000,000. An American whose words give us an idea of the way some of our business men were thinking said, "The Pacific Ocean is in our hands now. It [the Philippine Islands as a group] enables the United States to convert the Pacific Ocean into an American Lake."

For better or for worse, we got the Philippine Islands, and our first problem was to fight the Filipinos themselves, who began to object to American rule. There was also the question of how we could defend our new and distant islands in the Far East. Would we have to build a bigger navy? These troublesome problems, however, were set aside by those who believed in *economic imperialism*, that is, taking over foreign lands and peoples to increase our trade and control their natural resources. But with the Philippines and the little island of Guam, the American people had jumped into the race for power in the Far East. Many European nations as well as Japan had land and trade interests in the distant Pacific. This meant that we would have to work out a Far Eastern policy just as we had already been forced to develop our policy of neutrality toward Europe and our Monroe Doctrine and its Corollary in Latin America. We would have to show other nations that we meant to guard our possessions, interests and rights in the Far East just as we did elsewhere.

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[1] The island taken was Guam, which had been captured June 30, and which occupied a strategic position on the route to the Philippines.

5. Early Interests in the Pacific. American interests in the Pacific by no means began with the Spanish-American War.

CHINA. Since 1784, when the *Empress of China* set sail for Canton, Americans had carried on a thriving trade with China. When England, after the "Opium War" (1841-42), forced China to open five ports to British trade, an American mission under Caleb Cushing succeeded in obtaining a treaty from the Chinese government which gave Americans certain trading privileges. It also gave the Americans the principle of "extraterritoriality" which meant that they could rule themselves in China instead of having to obey Chinese law. As the United States seemed to be the only nation not anxious to gobble up Chinese territory, relations between the two countries remained very friendly except during the early 1880's, when Americans were agitating for Congress to pass a law excluding Chinese as immigrants.

JAPAN. The United States has played an important rôle in the history of Japan. Through our influence, Japan first opened her ports to the outside world[1] and prepared the way for her modernization. After the Mexican War the United States was firmly established in the Pacific. Her whalers scoured the western ocean, and her traders in large numbers sailed the China seas. The world was becoming too small for Japan to be permanently closed. In 1853 Commodore Matthew C. Perry[2] with a strong fleet appeared in Japanese waters, where by persistent tact and a show of force he wrung from the Japanese a treaty in the following year which opened two ports to American trade. Under the able diplomacy of our first consul in Japan, more liberal treaties were obtained. After a period of unrest, during which a joint naval demonstration against Japan by England and the United States took place in 1863, Japan definitely decided to adopt more modern ways of living from the outside world. Relations with the United States remained friendly until the present century when the question of Japanese immigration came to trouble the waters.

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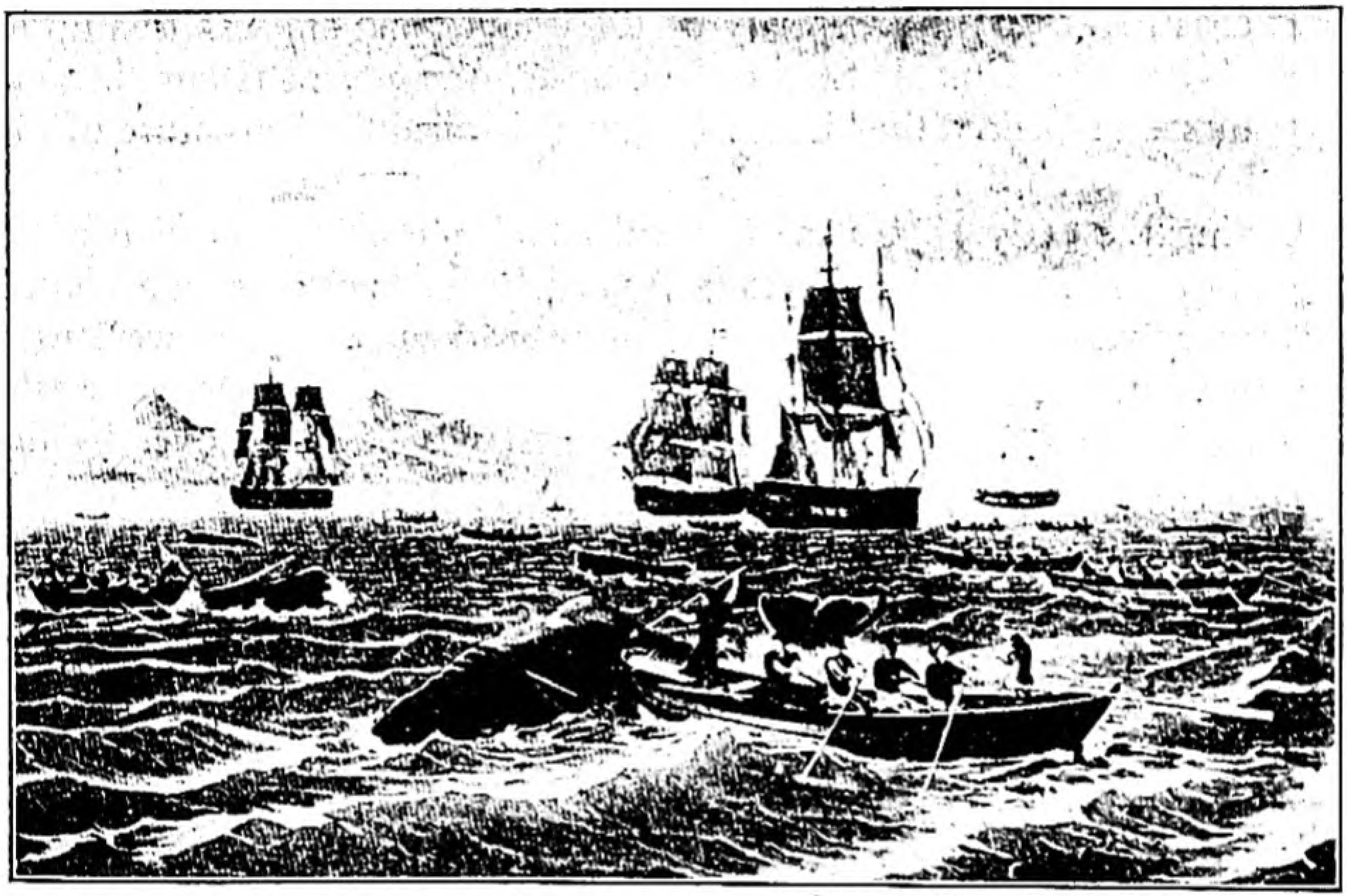
[1] The Dutch had an unimportant trading concession prior to the United States.

[2] A younger brother of Oliver H. Perry, the hero of Lake Erie.

SAMOA. Concerning American policy in the Pacific before 1900, it is necessary here to mention but two incidents. In 1878 a Samoan chief granted us by treaty the use of the harbor of Pagopago on the island of Tutuila. Similar privileges were soon accorded to England and Germany, and there quickly developed a three-cornered rivalry for the domination of the islands, which almost led to armed conflict. For a time a threefold protectorate was set up, but in 1899 England retired, leaving the United States with Tutuila and Manua, and Germany with the remainder of the group.[1]



Courtesy State Street Trust Company

WHALING

Four ships of the famous Rotch fleet among a school of sperm whales off the coast of Hawaii. William Rotch was Nantucket's best-known whaler, and Nantucket was America's greatest whaling port during the early years of the Republic. When whales became scarce nearer home, the hardy seamen chased their prey to the remote Pacific.

HAWAII. Hawaii, discovered in the late 1700's, drew American traders and missionaries during the early 1800's. A glance at the map (Fig. 19) will show that these islands are the largest group in the central Pacific and are actually nearer to our shores than they are to Asia. When our nation had spread westward to the Pacific Coast we realized that for our own safety we must never let any other country get control of Hawaii. The islands could be used as a stepping stone from which some enemy nation might attack California, Oregon, Washington and Alaska and the all-important canal we would have some day across Central America. Furthermore, Hawaii provided a place where our merchant ships could stop on their way across the Pacific. Meanwhile, Americans in Hawaii had developed a profitable business in sugar and other products with our west coast, so that the prosperity of the island kingdom was tied up in trade with the United States. Moreover, these Americans became Hawaiians, influenced the king, and soon controlled the legislature of the island.

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[1] At the close of the First World War the German possessions in the Samoa Islands came under the control of Great Britain as a mandate of New Zealand.

During the early 1890's the new ruler and queen of Hawaii tried to get rid of this foreign interference. Armed forces landed from a United States war vessel to "protect" American property but actually were used to threaten the queen. She was forced to give in and a republic was established by Americans who asked that the islands be taken over by the United States. President Cleveland, however, refused to annex Hawaii. He believed that American business interests there had staged this "land grabbing" act. The islands remained in the hands of American sugar planters and merchants. They marked time until President McKinley and a Republican Congress annexed Hawaii in the late 1890's.

A FAR EASTERN POLICY IS DEVELOPED

6. Establishment of American Rule in the Philippines. To put down the Philippine insurrection proved a more difficult task than to topple over the tottering empire of Spain. It took 60,000 men three years to pacify the islands; it cost as many lives as the Spanish War, and $175,000,000 in money. This put the administration on the defensive, and helps in part to account for its anxiety to start the process of civilization. Two commissions were sent to the islands, the first to investigate and recommend, and the second, under Judge William Howard Taft, to erect a civil government. Civil rule was established over most of the islands in 1901, and Congress in 1902 passed the Philippine Act providing for a governor appointed by the President, for executive departments, and for a legislature, the lower house of which was to be composed of Filipinos. This house was established in 1907 after a census had been taken, with the Taft Commission, to which three Filipinos had been added earlier, acting as the upper house.

In America the Democratic party continued to condemn the conquest of the Philippines and promised independence when "stable government" was achieved. As a consequence, the victory of President Wilson raised the hope that freedom was not far distant. Independence was not granted, but the Jones Act of 1916 was passed. This law gave more Filipinos the right to vote, replaced the Commission with a senate elected by the Filipinos, and placed the executive departments, except that of instruction and health, in the hands of the natives. In spite of these concessions, the demand for independence did not subside, but rather became stronger during the decade of the 'twenties.

In the meantime the islands prospered under American rule. Highways, railroads and telegraph lines were built. An excellent system of public schools, with 1,746,000 students in attendance in 1939, was established. Illiteracy declined from 85 per cent in 1898 to 51.2 per cent in 1939. Sanitation was improved and with it came the decline of tropical disease. The total volume of imports and exports increased about sixfold between 1900 and 1930. This was in part due to the American tariff policy which in 1902 granted a 25 per cent reduction on Philippine goods and in 1913 provided for free trade without restriction. Finally, in 1934, Congress passed the Philippine Independence Act. This law provided that the islands were to be under American protection until 1946 when they were to be completely independent *(XI, 6)*.

7. Does the Constitution Follow the Flag? The policy of the United States toward Puerto Rico has been much the same as that toward the Philippines.

PUERTO RICO. Civil government was established in Puerto Rico in 1900 under the Foraker Act. This law placed the government in the hands of a governor and executive council of 11 appointed by the President, and a house of delegates elected by the natives. In 1917 Puerto Ricans were made citizens of the United States and given the right to elect an upper house of the legislature, the President reserving the power to veto bills and to appoint the governor and certain other officials. Although the act of 1917 improved the political situation, dissatisfaction with American rule has continued, and in 1928 the Puerto Rican legislature petitioned for complete home rule.[1] This petition President Coolidge denied.

The political discontent in Puerto Rico is caused chiefly by economic conditions. While the United States has improved the transportation facilities, established an excellent school system, and done much to raise the standard of public health, the economic condition of the average native has grown worse. The wealth of the island is largely owned abroad, chiefly in the United States. The small farm has almost disappeared, giving place to large plantations, thus reducing the native to the position of a landless agricultural worker. At the same time Puerto Rico has become practically a two-crop island (sugar and tobacco). As a result, an oversupply of these commodities appeared on the market during the recent depression and 60 per cent of the population found themselves without employment.

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[1] This included the right to elect their own governor, to lower tariff rates, and to raise them on products in Puerto Rico but not on those grown in continental United States.

THE INSULAR CASES. Hardly had these islands come into the possession of the United States, before their constitutional status became an important question. Said the treaty with Spain: "The civil rights and the political status of the native inhabitants of the territories hereby added to the United States shall be determined by the Congress." Did this mean that Congress must confer upon the islanders those rights and privileges guaranteed under the Constitution to our own citizens, or might it govern the islands quite independently of the Constitution? In the popular phrase of the day, "Did the Constitution follow the flag?" When the Supreme Court in the Insular Cases decided that import duties might be levied on Puerto Rican products it thereby ruled that rights and privileges enjoyed by Americans did not extend to these people unless Congress so willed.

8. China and the Open Door Policy. The European nations since 1840, and Japan since 1894, had cast greedy eyes upon the resources of China, and had schemed, jockeyed and fought to increase their respective influence in that nation. Simultaneously with the Spanish-American War, Germany, Russia, England and France had secured long leases of important Chinese ports, and behind these ports the European nations were increasing their hold over areas known as "spheres of influence." Japan in 1895 had captured Formosa and was aggressively pushing her interests in Korea. It looked as if China might soon be carved up and divided among foreign powers.

We watched this set-up for the division of China very carefully. Great Britain, afraid she might lose some of her trade and influence in China, turned to the United States as she had in the days before the Monroe Doctrine was announced. Of course, we did not want to be pushed out of the Chinese trade either. Therefore, our Secretary of State, John Hay, probably acting partly at the suggestion of an unofficial British agent, made a proposal in 1899. He asked that every nation with interests in China, including Japan, should agree that all countries were to have the same trading rights and privileges in the parts of China already under foreign influence. In other words, the chance to cash in on China's resources and trade was to be open to everybody. This has been called the "Open Door Policy," and while it was not agreed to by all the nations, it helped to postpone trouble in the Far East until Japan had grown stronger.

THE BOXER REBELLION. A revolution, called the Boxer Rebellion, broke out in China about 1900. This odd name has been given it because many of the Chinese rebels belonged to an athletic society which had something to do with starting the revolt. The object of the rebels was to drive the "foreign devils" from China. They felt that the foreign "barbarians" were getting too much influence in their country. They objected to the attempts made by Christian missionaries to break down belief in China's ancient religion. They disliked the ideas of democracy that were weakening their system of rule by emperors. They believed that China was becoming a hunting ground for foreign merchants who would try to seize Chinese territory.

The "Boxers" attacked foreigners in the city of Peking (now Peiping) and the weak Chinese government was unable to put down the rebellion. The Americans, British, Germans, Japanese and other foreigners had to protect themselves, and gathered inside the walls of the British headquarters. For almost two months the little group of about 900 fought off the Chinese attacks. At this point a combined force of troops from all nations of the surrounded foreigners marched into China to their rescue. Such nations had a wonderful chance for "land grabbing." Before this "international" army started on its march, Secretary Hay announced that the United States did not intend to use this opportunity to seize Chinese territory or to attempt to interfere with China's government. Since Great Britain, Germany and France agreed with Hay's idea, the Chinese government, instead of losing part of its territory, agreed to pay damages to all the foreign nations for what the Boxers had done. The United States, however, returned part of the money paid over to us, and the Chinese used it to give scholarships to students who wished to come over here to study. This, of course, helped to create a more friendly feeling between the people of America and China.

A few years later Russia and Japan fought a war in northern China. One reason for the quarrel was that Russia had kept soldiers in Manchuria after the Boxer Rebellion; so Japan finally declared war on the Russians because she believed they were trying to get control of northern China. It was President Theodore Roosevelt who was able to bring peace between Russia and Japan in a treaty signed in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1905. By this agreement Japan was able to increase her grip on Manchuria, a huge part of the mainland west of Japan. But even at that, the Japanese were disappointed and blamed Roosevelt because they did not get a huge payment of $600,000,000 from Russia. But one thing was perfectly clear—Japan was becoming the nation in the Far East which might some day slam shut the Open Door.

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9. Cuba and the Platt Amendment. When the United States declared war on Spain, she had pledged herself to withdraw from Cuba and leave the control of that island to its own people. From 1898 until 1902 our army of occupation under General Leonard Wood ruled the island and inaugurated many reforms. The problem of what to do with the island was determined in 1901 when Congress passed the so-called "Platt Amendment," which was later put in the Cuban constitution and written into a permanent treaty between the two countries. Its chief provisions were: (1) the Cuban government must make no treaties with foreign governments which might result in loss of its independence; (2) Cuba must not borrow more money than her ordinary taxes could repay; (3) Cuba shall consent "that the United States exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty," and (4) Cuba shall lease or sell to the United States necessary coaling stations.[1]

For all practical purposes the Platt Amendment reduced Cuba to a protectorate. Since American troops were recalled in 1902, the United States has landed troops in Cuba four times when disorder broke out. In each case this was done partly at the request of American interests for the protection of American property. By 1920 Cuban industries were largely under American control. Under President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1934) our right to intervene was surrendered by cancellation of the Platt Amendment.

10. The Building of the Panama Canal. At the outbreak of our war with Spain, the *Oregon*, one of our first-class battleships, was stationed on the Pacific Coast. Ordered to join our Atlantic fleet, the *Oregon* raced south past Mexico, Peru and Chile and swung around the tip of South America into the Atlantic. It took almost two months for her to complete her voyage and she had to travel a distance equal to almost halfway around the world. The race of the *Oregon* showed us that we needed a canal across Central America.

For more than 50 years there had been talk of a way to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and a French company had tried unsuccessfully to dig a canal across the Isthmus of Panama. It looked as though the United States would have to build a canal or else have two fleets of war vessels, one to protect our Atlantic Coast and the Caribbean Sea, the other ready to defend our new possessions of Hawaii and the Philippine

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[1] Such a coaling station is now maintained at Guantánamo Bay, on the southeastern coast of Cuba.

Islands, as well as our west coast. Furthermore, a canal through Central America would open the gates to trade with Peru and Chile and far across the Pacific with the Philippines, Japan and China. Finally ships could go to and from our own ports on the Atlantic to the harbors of California, Washington and Oregon. The spread of our control into Cuba and in other parts of the Caribbean had pushed us on and we felt we could wait no longer for a canal.

Investigations showed that a canal could be dug through either Panama or Nicaragua, and finally it was decided that Panama was the better place. Therefore, we offered to pay $10,000,000 cash and after the first nine years had gone by, $250,000 every year as a sort of rent, to the Republic of Colombia of which Panama was then a part. But the Colombian government turned down our proposition, because they felt we ought to pay more. This disappointed some people in Panama who believed a canal would bring them prosperity. Others who felt they were losing out were stockholders of the French company which still owned the rights to build a canal. They wanted to sell this privilege to the United States and get some money back for themselves, but when Colombia rejected our offer their chances looked very slim.

Suddenly a revolution broke out in Panama. One of our war vessels was stationed there with orders to prevent any armed forces from landing. This, of course, made it impossible for the Republic of Colombia to send troops to break up the revolt, and the people of Panama immediately announced themselves to be a free nation. The United States government recognized their independence in two days' time. We quickly made a treaty with them which gave us the right to dig a canal across Panama and to have complete control of a strip of land ten miles wide all the way across the Isthmus (see map, Fig. 12). For these privileges, we made with Panama the same financial arrangements which Colombia had turned down, and the French company, to the satisfaction of its stockholders, sold out to us for $40,000,000.

American Responsibility. Much ink has been consumed over the question of American responsibility for the revolution of Panama. Roosevelt and other leading officials asserted that the American government had no part in starting it. On the other hand, it is clear that without American help there could have been no successful revolution and without American guarantee the Republic of Panama could hardly have existed. The Washington government knew that a revolution was threatening and deliberately sent warships to insure its success. The people of Panama knew the ships were coming, suspected they would aid them, and timed their revolution accordingly. After he had retired from the Presidency, Roosevelt was reported to have said in a public address:

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If I had followed traditional conservative methods I should have submitted a dignified state paper of probably two hundred pages to the Congress and the debate would be going on yet, but I took the Canal Zone and let Congress debate, and while the debate goes on the canal does also.

This abrupt method of treating Colombia won for us much ill-feeling in Latin America, and efforts were subsequently made to make Colombia feel better about it. Bryan (Wilson's Secretary of State) negotiated a treaty offering her $25,000,000, but it was turned down by the Senate. However, a similar treaty during the Harding administration was passed.

THE CANAL. After some hesitation, the government decided to build the canal itself. Colonel George W. Goethals was made engineer in charge, and the dirt began to fly in May, 1904. The great problem was not engineering but sanitation, and the hero of the enterprise was Dr. William C. Gorgas, an army surgeon who had eliminated yellow fever in Havana during the American occupation (*VIII, 9*). Until the arrival of Gorgas, yellow fever, malaria and other tropical diseases had made life in the Canal Zone almost impossible for white men. Under his direction a disease-ridden tropical wilderness was turned into a region with a death rate lower than that of the average American city. Including fortification and payment to Colombia, the cost, due to engineering skill, was kept at about $600,000,000. The canal was opened August, 1914, and its use has increased steadily.

11. The Creation of New Protectorates. We have shown how Cuba and Panama became protectorates of the United States. We shall now relate briefly how Santo Domingo, Haiti and Nicaragua were brought into the same relationship. (For the location of these countries, see map, Fig. 12.)

SANTO DOMINGO. Ever since its independence in 1844, the Republic of Santo Domingo had been torn by frequent revolutions, and during this time foreign debts had accumulated alarmingly. By 1903 the taxes collected at every port were pledged to foreign creditors, including an aggressive American concern. Threats by European governments to collect overdue debts by force convinced Roosevelt that the United States should interfere. He had already prepared the way for this by his addition to the Monroe Doctrine known as the Roosevelt Corollary. Accordingly, Roosevelt forced the Dominican government to sign a treaty under which an American agent was to collect the taxes at the ports of Santo Domingo. A part of the money so collected was to be turned over to the native government and the rest alloted to the various creditors. The Senate refused to ratify the treaty, but Roosevelt put it into operation under an executive agreement (1905), and two years later the Senate gave in.

In 1916, the Dominican government refused any longer to accept the United States as its financial guardian. Marines were landed, the parliament was suspended, and from 1916 until 1924 Santo Domingo was under a military dictatorship of American marines. This was ended only after she agreed to extend indefinitely American control over her finances and to allow intervention by the United States.

HAITI. At the other end of the same island is located the thickly populated Republic of Haiti. Cursed, like Santo Domingo, with political unrest, Haiti had enjoyed a much more creditable record in paying her debts. By 1914, however, she was in over her head, and the United States suggested an arrangement similar to that which we had made with Santo Domingo. Haiti repeatedly refused.

Weary of waiting for a voluntary surrender of independence, American marines landed in 1914, and seized the government funds of $500,000 in the National Bank of Haiti. In the next year, using local disorders as an excuse, marines were again rushed to Haiti to commence a military occupation which was to last for many years. Thoroughly frightened, a puppet legislature and a puppet president ratified a treaty by which Haiti agreed to American supervision of her finances, American intervention to maintain order, and a native police commanded by American officers. This treaty was effective for ten years and was renewed for another ten years in 1926.[1] Improved sanitation and transportation facilities and increased prosperity followed American occupation of both countries, but, needless to say, American control was bitterly resented by the natives. Haiti was reduced only after hundreds of natives had been killed fighting for the freedom of their country.

NICARAGUA. Since the building of the Panama Canal, the United States has had an especial interest in the stability of the nations in Central America. Particularly has this been true of Nicaragua, which contained the route of a possible alternate canal. The execution of two Americans by the local dictator in 1909 led to interference by the United States.[2] A treaty establishing a financial protectorate on the order of that in Haiti and Santo Domingo was signed but not ratified by the American Senate. Nevertheless, marines were sent in 1912 and, with the exception of a brief period in 1925, they remained until 1933.

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[1] In October, 1931, American occupation ceased, with the exception of a small force left to officer the native police, and an American financial receiver. President Hoover announced that all troops would be withdrawn by the expiration of the treaty in 1936. Roosevelt speeded the withdrawal by an executive agreement calling for the end of all military occupation on October 1, 1934, and a less stringent supervision of the country's finances.

[2] The United States has also found it necessary to interfere in Honduras for the protection of American lives and property.

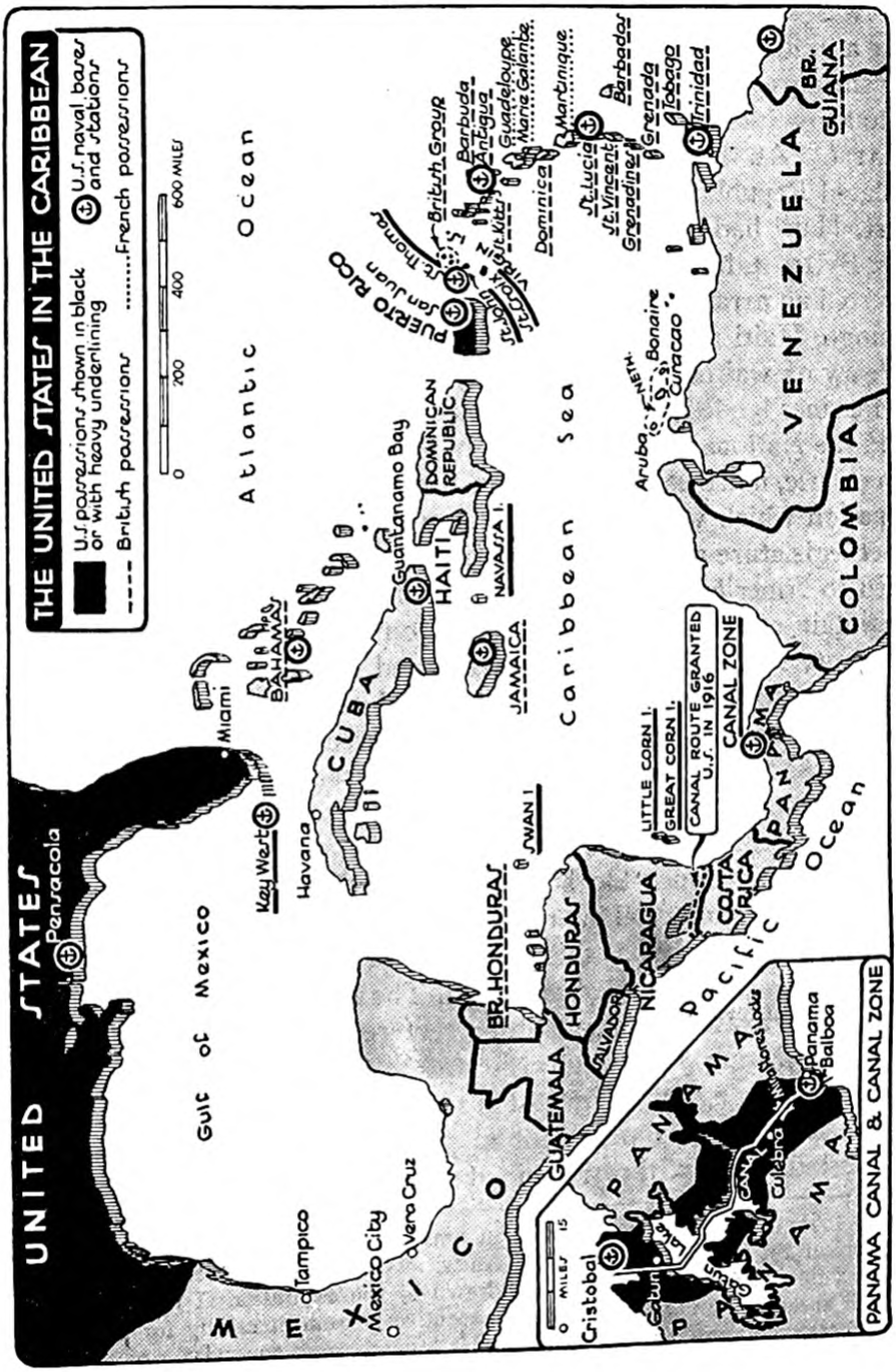
THE UNITED STATES IN THE CARIBBEAN
U.S. possessions shown in black or with heavy underlining
U.S. naval bases and stations
British possessions
French possessions
0 200 400 600 MILES
UNITED STATES
Pensacola
Gulf of Mexico
MEXICO
Tampico
Mexico City
Vera Cruz
Key West
Miami
Havana
CUBA
BAHAMAS
Guantanamo Bay
HAITI
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
NAVASSA I.
JAMAICA
Atlantic Ocean
Caribbean Sea
PUERTO RICO
San Juan
St. Thomas
St. John
St. Croix
VIRGIN IS.
British Group
Barbuda
Antigua
St. Kitts
Guadeloupe
Marie Galante
Dominica
Martinique
St. Lucia
St. Vincent
Barbados
Grenadines
Grenada
Tobago
Trinidad
BR. GUIANA
VENEZUELA
COLOMBIA
Aruba
NETH.
Curacao
Bonaire
BR. HONDURAS
SWAN I.
GUATEMALA
HONDURAS
SALVADOR
NICARAGUA
LITTLE CORN I.
GREAT CORN I.
CANAL ROUTE GRANTED U.S. IN 1916
CANAL ZONE
COSTA RICA
PANAMA
Pacific Ocean
PANAMA CANAL & CANAL ZONE
0 MILES 15
Cristobal
Gatun
Gatun Lake
Culebra
CANAL
Miraflores Locks
Panama
Balboa
PANAMA

Fig. 12

The Nicaraguan National Bank and the railroads were brought under the control of New York financiers and a commission controlled by Americans collected the revenues. American interests were further protected by the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty of 1916 which granted to the United States, in return for $3,000,000, (1) the right of way for an interoceanic canal through Nicaragua, (2) a ninety-nine-year lease on the Great Corn and Little Corn Islands off the eastern coast, and (3) the right to establish a naval base on the Gulf of Fonseca on the western coast.

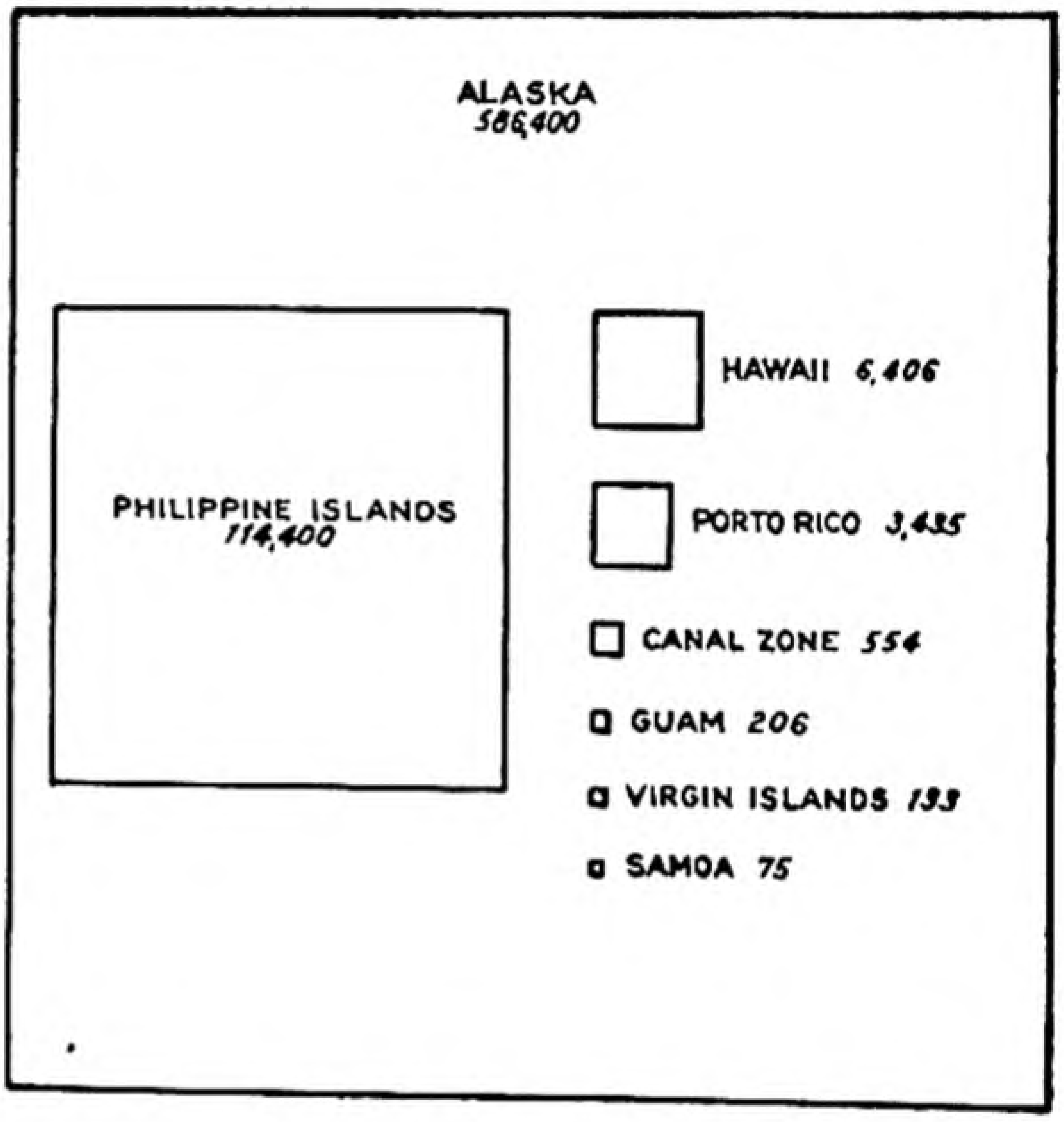

FIG. 13

RELATIVE SIZE OF
UNITED STATES POSSESSIONS

Of the possessions held at one time by the United States, only Alaska and the Philippines are important in terms of area. Small in area, the other possessions, except Samoa, have an important naval or commercial significance. The figures represent square miles.

12. The Acquisition of the Virgin Islands. The Danish West Indies or Virgin Islands have been of interest to the United States for a long period. Convinced from our experiences in the War between the States that we needed a coaling station in the West Indies, Seward negotiated for the purchase of the islands in 1867. Denmark consented, but the American Senate rejected the treaty. Because of the strategic importance of these islands, Roosevelt negotiated again in 1902. This time the American Senate ratified, but the Danish parliament refused. A glance at Fig. 12 will show that the Virgin Islands are situated at the western end of the convenient trade routes to the Panama Canal. The coming of the First World War and the fear that Germany might obtain those islands brought renewed negotiations and the sale in 1917 of St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix, with adjacent small islands, for $25,000,000. The prosperity of the islands has declined, as has the population, since annexation to the United States. Prohibition hurt the rum business, and the development of oil-burning ships decreased the importance of St. Thomas as a coaling station.

13. The Mexican Revolutions and Foreign Interests. Unlike the tiny republics of Central America and the Caribbean, Mexico for several decades had enjoyed domestic peace and economic development. But it had been the peace of despotism. In 1877 the government came under the control of a strong dictator, Porfirio Diaz. This ruler upheld the power of the landowning aristocracy and granted privileges with an open hand to foreign concerns interested in stock raising, rubber plantations, copper and silver mining, and the drilling of oil wells. Americans had taken a prominent part in gaining economic rights, particularly after 1900, and by 1910 American investments in Mexico approximated $1,000,000,000. By that date about 80 per cent of the investments in Mexican railroads and mines were American, and close to 70 per cent of her oil was being taken out by American firms. To take care of this business, over 30,000 American citizens were living in Mexico.

In 1911 the despotism of the aged Diaz was overthrown by revolution. The chief cause of the discontent was the condition of the poorer classes. Mexico was primarily an agricultural country, but 85 per cent of the agricultural workers were landless—little more than serfs working on the great estates into which Mexico had been divided. There were patriotic Mexicans of the upper classes who deplored this and who also resented the loss of democratic government under Diaz. Others resented the easy way in which Mexican wealth had been handed over to foreigners, and feared the growing foreign power in Mexico. Diaz himself in his later years feared the great power of American investors and sought to offset it by encouraging British oil interests.

As a consequence, American oil interests encouraged, if they did not actually help to finance, the revolution. The revolt took place under the leadership of Francisco Madero, a wealthy Mexican of the highest ideals. During his year and a half in office he unfortunately made little progress with his economic and political reforms. The opposition of the old ruling class under the leadership of Victoriano Huerta caused his overthrow in February, 1913, and he was shortly murdered in cold blood, apparently at the scheming of Huerta.

14. Breakdown of Watchful Waiting. At this point Woodrow Wilson became President of the United States. An overthrow of government, such as had just occurred in Mexico, was not unusual in Latin America, and we would normally have recognized the Huerta government. This was done by 26 European nations and Japan. Not so, the United States. Wilson, shocked by Huerta's brutal methods, refused recognition, stating that "we can have no sympathy with those who seize the power of government to advance their own political interest or ambition." He called his policy "watchful waiting," but watchful action would have better described it.

In Mexico the opposition to Huerta had been organized under Venustiano Carranza, and to aid these revolutionists an embargo on arms, imposed earlier, was lifted. Huerta's refusal to salute the American flag in compliance with an ill-advised demand of Admiral Mayo after the unnecessary arrest of some American sailors in April, 1914, gave Wilson his opportunity. He immediately ordered the blockade of Mexican ports and the occupation of Vera Cruz (see map, Fig. 12). The capture of Vera Cruz (1914) cost the lives of 18 American marines, but it ended the power of Huerta by cutting off his tariff collections and the importation of munitions. Beyond this Wilson refused to go.

American troops occupied Vera Cruz for over six months. In the meantime Carranza became president of a new government which Wilson recognized (1915). Hardly had Carranza assumed power before he fell out with his lieutenants. One of them, Francisco Villa, bandit rather than patriot, raised the standard of revolt in northern Mexico. In March, 1916, Villa with a band of followers crossed the border at Columbus, New Mexico, and killed a number of American citizens. The outcry against "watchful waiting" was too loud for Wilson to ignore, and with the reluctant permission of Carranza, he sent General Pershing with an army into Mexico to capture Villa. Pershing spent nine months there and came out without Villa, but the expensive expedition was good training for the great war scarcely a year in the future.

15. The Establishment of Friendly Relations. Carranza held office until overthrown and murdered in 1920. In a regular election, Obregón was elected president, but recognition was withheld by the United States until September, 1923. The cause for this delay was an article of the new Mexican constitution. This article specified that only Mexicans by birth or naturalization might acquire ownership in lands or receive concessions for mines, water sites or petroleum and gas deposits. The same rights might be accorded to foreigners, but they must agree to abide by Mexican law and not seek the protection of their own government. Foreigners might not acquire ownership of lands and waters within a zone of 100 kilometers (62 miles) from the coast.

All this Mexico had a perfect right to do, and there could be no legitimate complaint on the part of American interests as long as these provisions did not affect contracts made before the new constitution. However, it took ten years of negotiations before the American government was convinced that legitimate American property interests acquired before adoption of the constitution were not imperiled. Since 1927 relations between the two nations have greatly improved, a tendency which has been speeded by a sudden interest in Mexican civilization which has taken thousands of American travelers and students to Mexico.

16. The New Frontier. The same decade that saw the closing of our western frontier witnessed the American nation pushing on to a new frontier. This was not a movement of pioneer farmers upon unoccupied land, but rather a frontier entered by capitalists to trade, loan money and develop natural resources. It commenced in a real way when the economic development of the United States reached the stage where manufacturers were looking beyond our boundaries to sell surplus commodities, and bankers to loan surplus capital. It began dramatically enough in a short war with Spain, which left us with Puerto Rico, Guam and the Philippines and a protectorate over Cuba, and it hastened the annexation of Hawaii.

The war made increasingly evident the need of a canal between the two oceans, and a new nation, Panama, was erected to make this possible. Soon after, Santo Domingo, Haiti and Nicaragua were brought under our control, thus establishing in the Caribbean an American "sphere of influence" not unlike those of the European nations in the Far East. By the opening of the First World War the United States had definitely emerged from isolation and had become a world power. The First World War, which we will discuss in the next chapter, was to speed this movement.

Can You Use These Terms?

A. Underscore the phrases or expressions that correctly complete the following statements. There may be more than one correct response to a statement.

1. A nation that dominates the agriculture and industry of some other nation is said to have: (a) made a military conquest; (b) made a practice of economic imperialism; (c) adopted a *laissez-faire* or "hands-off" policy.
2. By the right of "extraterritoriality" foreigners, including Americans, residing in China: (a) were subject to the laws of China; (b) could rule themselves in China; (c) were given the privilege of buying up vast areas of Chinese territory.
3. The Open Door Policy stated that: (a) China was open to conquest by any nation; (b) all nations were to have equal trading rights in China; (c) Japan should not be allowed to share the China trade with other nations.
4. A "sphere of influence" is usually considered to be an area in a foreign country: (a) owned by another nation; (b) dominated but not actually owned by another country; (c) where economic imperialism is practiced.

5. A puppet legislature is one that: (a) is small; (b) serves as a rubber stamp; (c) makes laws for a sub-division of a nation.
6. Despotism is: (a) any form of one-man rule; (b) rule by a tyrant; (c) high-handed one-man rule.
7. Woodrow Wilson advocated a policy of "watchful waiting" toward: (a) Haiti; (b) Mexico; (c) Spain.

Do You Know the Facts?

B. Match the following items in the right-hand column with the proper choices in the left-hand column. To do this insert the number or numbers of choices in the parentheses in front of the proper item or items.

CHOICES	ITEMS
1. Forced Japan to open two ports to our trade, 1853	a. ( ) Ostend Manifesto
2. Instigated by Chinese patriots	b. ( ) Ambassador de Lome
3. General Pershing led troops into Mexico to capture this Mexican bandit	c. ( ) George Dewey
4. Army surgeon who brought tropical diseases under control in the Canal Zone	d. ( ) Matthew C. Perry
5. Made Cuba a virtual protectorate	e. ( ) John Hay
6. Characterized President McKinley as weak and of catering "to the rabble"	f. ( ) Boxer Rebellion
7. Mexican dictator, late 1800's and early 1900's	g. ( ) Platt Amendment
8. Proposed the Open Door Policy in 1899	h. ( ) George W. Goethals
9. Recognized as Mexican President by Wilson in 1915	i. ( ) William C. Gorgas
10. Victor in battle of Manila Bay	j. ( ) Francisco Villa
11. Asserted our right to take Cuba from Spain	k. ( ) Venustiano Carranza
12. Army engineer who built the Panama Canal	l. ( ) Porfirio Diaz

C. Underscore the phrases or expressions that correctly complete the following statements. There may be more than one correct response to a statement.

1. During the two decades before our War between the States the United States: (a) offered to buy Cuba from Spain; (b) government denied the Ostend Manifesto; (c) was not interested in acquiring Cuba.
2. Our interest in Cuba was reawakened during the latter 1800's: (a) by

southern slaveholders; (b) by our so-called yellow journals; (c) because of the growth of American investments in Cuba.

3. During the latter 1800's: (a) Cubans revolted against Spanish rule; (b) stories of Spain's treatment of Cuban rebels were played up in our newspapers; (c) Cuban rebels were able to arouse much sympathy in the United States.
4. Just before the outbreak of the Spanish-American War: (a) Spain refused to negotiate with us; (b) Spain, according to our representative's reports, offered to make any disposition of Cuba that we wanted; (c) the U.S.S. *Maine* was destroyed by an explosion in Havana harbor.
5. The U.S.S. *Maine* was destroyed in the harbor at Havana by: (a) Spanish agents; (b) Cubans who wanted to throw the blame on Spain; (c) an explosion from an unknown cause.
6. We declared war on Spain in 1898 because: (a) Spain absolutely refused to alter her Cuban policy; (b) there was an overwhelming sentiment in the United States for war; (c) Cuban propaganda in the United States was very effective.
7. The Spanish-American War lasted for about: (a) four months; (b) one year; (c) two years.
8. As a result of the Spanish-American War the following became American territory: (a) Puerto Rico; (b) Cuba; (c) Guam; (d) the Philippine Islands.
9. Apparently, the main reason why we took over the Philippine Islands was that we: (a) did not want some other power to do so; (b) believed we owed it to the Filipinos to civilize them; (c) thought these islands would be a stepping stone to the trade of the Orient.
10. During the 1930's Congress passed a law: (a) making the Philippines an American territory, as are Hawaii and Alaska; (b) giving the Filipinos the right to make some of their own laws; (c) granting Filipino independence by 1946.
11. We annexed Hawaii because: (a) Americans who had become Hawaiian subjects got control of the government and requested annexation; (b) we needed to hold these Islands to protect our west coast; (c) the native ruler of Hawaii requested it to protect the Islands from Japan.
12. The people of Puerto Rico: (a) are American citizens; (b) are not American citizens; (c) have complete home-rule.
13. In general, the people of Puerto Rico are: (a) prosperous; (b) poor; (c) independent farmers.
14. The Platt Amendment to the Cuban constitution: (a) made Cuba an American protectorate; (b) stated that the United States would not interfere in Cuba in any way; (c) was cancelled in the early 1930's.
15. The revolution in Panama: (a) took place simultaneously with the arrival of United States war vessels; (b) was brought about because of

Colombia's refusal to accept our financial terms; (c) apparently was brought about without any aid from sources outside of Panama.

16. We made protectorates of Santo Domingo, Haiti and Nicaragua because: (a) Germany was planning to seize these small nations; (b) they were having financial difficulties; (c) we wanted to protect our own interests, as well as those of other countries, in these three small nations.
17. Our difficulties with Mexico in the earlier 1900's were caused partly by: (a) a series of revolutions as rivals struggled for power in that country; (b) Mexican restrictions on foreign investments and property; (c) our attempt to take over the Mexican government.

Can You Use What You Have Learned?

D. Some of the following statements are true, some are false. Others are opinions. If the statement is true, circle the letter **T**, *or the letter* **F** *if it is false. If it is an opinion discussed in the chapter, circle the letters* **OD** *(opinion discussed). If it is an opinion not discussed in the chapter, circle the letters* **ON** *(opinion not discussed).*

1. **T F OD ON** Since the latter 1800's the United States has extended its influence in the area of the Caribbean Sea.
2. **T F OD ON** At the close of the Spanish-American War we gave Cuba complete freedom to govern herself as she saw fit.
3. **T F OD ON** The United States has never practiced economic imperialism.
4. **T F OD ON** Our major purpose in annexing the Philippines was to further our imperialistic designs.
5. **T F OD ON** The annexation of Hawaii was a clear-cut example of economic imperialism.
6. **T F OD ON** The decisions of the Supreme Court in the Insular Cases did not square with the principles of American democracy.
7. **T F OD ON** President Theodore Roosevelt was justified in his measures concerning Colombia and the revolution in Panama.
8. **T F OD ON** We used strong measures to establish a protectorate over Haiti.
9. **T F OD ON** Our treatment of Mexico and the nations in the Caribbean area aroused justifiable resentment in Latin America.
10. **T F OD ON** Since the mid-1920's our relations with Mexico have not improved.

Summarizing Exercise

E. Match the following items in the right-hand column with the proper choices in the left-hand column. To do this insert the number or numbers of choices in the parentheses in front of the proper item or items. There may be items that can be matched with more than one choice.

CHOICES

1. Cuba
2. Mexico
3. Panama
4. China
5. Japan

ITEMS

a. ( ) Open Door Policy
b. ( ) Rough Riders
c. ( ) Matthew C. Perry
d. ( ) Platt Amendment
e. ( ) Boxer Rebellion
f. ( ) William C. Gorgas
g. ( ) "Remember the Maine"
h. ( ) General Pershing
i. ( ) extraterritoriality
j. ( ) "watchful waiting"

Correspondence or Class Assignments

F. See general instructions under this heading, p. vi.

1. Discuss the policy of the United States in the Far East up to about 1930 touching upon: (a) early trade relations with the Orient; (b) the Open Door Policy; (c) the Philippine Islands.
2. Give an account of the relations between the United States and Cuba including each of the following items: (a) our interest in Cuba to about 1890; (b) causes of our war with Spain; (c) nature and purpose of the Platt Amendment.
3. Account for the growing influence of the United States in the Caribbean Sea area from about 1898 to the late 1920's touching upon: (a) nature and extent of influence; (b) attitude of the Latin American nations toward the United States.

Suggested Readings

Textbooks:

General surveys of our expanding interests are to be found in: J. T. Adams, *The Epic of America*, chap. xi; J. S. Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, chaps. xxxvii-xxxix, and pp. 853-57; H. U. Faulkner, *American Economic History*, chap. 26, and *American Political and Social History*, chaps. xxx-xxxii. More extended accounts are available in C. R. Fish, *The Path of Empire*, chaps. v, vii-xvi; W. R. Shepherd, *The Hispanic Nations of the New World*, chap. xi; and M. Sullivan, *Our Times*, I, pp. 457-73.

Biographies:

Consult T. Roosevelt, *Autobiography* for an account of the "Rough Riders," pp. 217-55; or H. F. Pringle, *Theodore Roosevelt, A Biography,* pp. 181-200. E. Hubbard, *A Message To Garcia* is a short account of one of the outstanding heroes of the Spanish American War.

Historical Novels:

Among the novels touching upon the Spanish American War are: H. Hagedorn, *The Rough Riders*; and J. Hergesheimer, *Bright Shawl*.

CHAPTER IX

America in the First World War

THE UNITED STATES IS DRAWN INTO THE CONFLICT

1. The Background of the War. The rapid expansion of American power in the Caribbean after 1898 and the wholesale penetration of American capital into Mexico are but typical of what was going on in the world at large.

Colonial Rivalries. The nations of northwestern Europe, which had become industrialized earlier than the United States, had long before this sought colonial empires as an outlet for their machine-made products and their capital. Especially since 1870 had this scramble for markets been intense. France seeking to restore her national pride after defeat in the Franco-Prussian War, Germany to achieve a "place in the sun," Russia to get an ice-free port on the Pacific, Japan to find markets to support her teeming population, England to maintain her power and obtain more—these and smaller nations were attempting to grab what they could. In the process Africa was completely carved up and divided among the European nations in colonies or protectorates. The same fate was rapidly engulfing Asia—even the ancient Chinese empire seemed destined to disappear (*VIII, 8*). In this scramble for empire, Germany had come upon the scene late and had obtained comparatively little, but she had become the strongest military power in Europe and had experienced an amazing economic development. She was ambitious for colonies, and had built a navy second only to England's.

European Rivalries. While conflicting imperial ambitions in Africa and Asia were setting the scene for war, the situation in Europe was becoming even more dangerous. France was bitter over the loss of Alsace-Lorraine[1] and was determined to regain it; Italy wanted to extend her boundaries northward and across the Adriatic to include Italian-speaking people not yet part of her kingdom; Russia wanted Constantinople and thus an outlet to the Mediterranean; Austria, composed of a weird combination of many peoples, some of whom wanted independence, was aiming to extend her domination over the Balkans and southeastern Europe; and Germany, wedged in between hostile France and Russia, was striving to the utmost to protect what she had already acquired.

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[1] Taken from her by Germany at the close of the Franco-Prussian War, 1870-71.

Europe, it is apparent, was sitting on top of a powder magazine which might explode at any moment. The nations knew this, and each one was straining to the utmost to increase its armed forces, apparently for defense, but actually for a war which many believed certain and which some desired. Military preparations had run riot. In this maze of conflicting rivalries there evolved a series of alliances and understandings. Germany, Austria, and Italy were bound in a Triple Alliance (1882), and in the early 'nineties France and Russia also allied themselves. England, fearful of Germany's growing naval strength, came to an understanding with France, an understanding which proved sufficient in the crisis to bring her into the war on the side of France.[1] Around the orbit of these two alliances the lesser nations swung, thus creating a "balance of power."

THE COMING OF WAR. The spark which exploded this magazine of conflicting ambitions was struck in the Balkans, where the imperial ambitions of Russia and Austria collided. Austria felt that her future, if not her very existence, depended upon extending her influence over Serbia, while Russia encouraged the Serbs in their opposition and in their plots. One of these plots ended in the assassination of Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne, while he was visiting a city in an Austrian province. Austria, given a free hand by Germany, determined to punish the Serbian nation; and Russia, given a free hand by France, mobilized against Austria to protect her fellow Serbs. Germany gave Russia 12 hours to order demobilization and, when this was not done, declared war (August 1, 1914). Two days later she declared war on France. Before many months, most of Europe was involved. England entered the war after Germany had invaded Belgium. Italy, forsaking the Triple Alliance, joined the Allies (1915), as did Rumania (1916). Turkey and Bulgaria joined the Central Powers, as Germany and Austria were called. In all Europe, only Spain, Holland, Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries maintained neutrality.

QUESTION OF WAR GUILT. During the war Allied propaganda placed upon Germany the sole guilt for the war, and included this charge in the treaty of peace which Germany was forced to sign. Germany, of course, denied this, and demanded that the stain be removed by an official admission on the part of the Allies that hers was not the sole guilt. As the government documents bearing on this problem have been laid open in most of the principal European nations, most historians have agreed in lifting from Germany the entire blame. Some have gone farther and pointed to Russia and France as the chief culprits. The details of this controversy need not concern us here. Enough has been said to make clear that European nations for a half-century had followed policies that could have no end but war, and in this no nation was guiltless.

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[1] Beginning in 1902, England had strengthened her position by a defensive alliance with Japan, which was instrumental in bringing Japan into the First World War.

2. **Neutrality Reluctantly Abandoned.** Immediately following the breaking out of war in Europe, President Wilson issued a proclamation of neutrality urging that the United States be "neutral in fact as well as in name." This neutrality was maintained—at least officially—from August, 1914, until diplomatic relations with Germany were broken off on February 3, 1917. Neutrality in fact, however, was too much to expect. At least one-third of our population were foreign born or of foreign-born parentage, and of these nearly 9,000,000 had been born in Germany or had one parent born there. Much of our older stock had come from the British Isles.

FOREIGN PROPAGANDA. The United States found herself in a situation much like that existing 100 years earlier during the Napoleonic Wars. After a period of hesitation, the population began to sympathize with one side or the other. Propagandists of both sides played upon their minds, and in this the Allies had the advantage, for they controlled the sea and cables and were in a position to censor most of the news that came from Europe. Instead of one "Citizen" Genêt, there were a host of paid propagandists on both sides, some with official connections and some private citizens.

ECONOMIC EFFECT. The First World War was not unlike the Napoleonic Wars in its effect upon American economic life. With millions of European farmers and artisans withdrawn from peace-time pursuits, there was an increase in the demand for American products, particularly foodstuffs and munitions. The value of our wheat exports, for example, rose from $39,000,000 in 1913 to $300,000,000 in 1917, while the value of our munition exports increased during these years from $5,000,000 to $803,000,000. Prices and wages rose rapidly, and unprecedented prosperity swept the country as the European nations poured their accumulated wealth into America in their efforts to destroy one another. As the most important neutral, the United States profited tremendously.

In another way the war had an important effect upon America's economic position. Ever since the founding of the first colonies the economic development of the United States had been in part financed by loans from European nations. About $5,000,000,000 of European money was invested here at the opening of the war. To fight the war and pay for the goods being bought here, a great part of these investments were sold. Furthermore, Europe began to borrow heavily in the United States.

Private and (after we entered the war) government loans to Europe amounted to over $11,000,000,000, which increased in the post-war years. Within a short period, therefore, the United States changed from a debtor to a creditor nation. This country became the chief loaning nation of the world, and the center of world finance shifted from London to New York.

DIFFICULTIES OF NEUTRALITY. Bright as was the sun of prosperity, there were clouds in the sky. One of these was the difficulty of getting our goods to Europe. The German merchant marine disappeared from the seas. At the same time Allied shipping shrunk, due to losses from German submarines or to the employment of ships for auxiliary war service. These events brought home to the American people the fact that our own merchant marine was woefully inadequate. Congress in 1916, therefore, passed the Ship Purchase Act authorizing the government to set up a United States Shipping Board with power to purchase, lease and build vessels and operate them for five years after the war.

A much darker cloud was that of neutral rights. As in the Napoleonic Wars, Europe was engaged in a life and death struggle. Although neither side wanted to antagonize the most powerful neutral, both the Allied nations and the Central Powers violated neutral rights, balancing their immediate needs against the displeasure and possible action of the United States.

England, controlling the sea, blockaded the German ports and soon extended the contraband list to include cotton, wool, leather, rubber, copper and chemicals, which had formerly been free of seizure, and later included foodstuffs. She also seized cargoes bound for the neutral nations of Europe on the ground that they were destined for the Central Powers. Our mails were seized and searched in the hope of gaining knowledge of German plans. Against these actions of the British government the United States made repeated and heated protest, but England refused to modify her practice. All this involved heavy loss to American citizens, but England promised a fair settlement for legitimate losses.

3. Our Entrance into the War. Serious as were England's infractions of neutral rights, they were concerned chiefly with property rights. Germany's violations involved the loss of American lives and were the immediate cause of our entrance into the war. Sea power was the determining factor, as it had been in the Napoleonic Wars. Unless England's control of the sea could be broken and Germany could receive neutral goods, the latter was doomed to defeat.

With her warships bottled up, Germany determined to take advantage of a new invention—the submarine. On February 4, 1915, she proclaimed the waters around the British Isles a "war zone" and threatened to sink at sight "every merchant ship . . . even if it is impossible to avert dangers which threaten the crew and passengers." At the same time she pointed out that because of the frail structure of submarines, it would be impossible for one to visit and search vessels and take care of the safety of crews and passengers. In reply, Wilson informed Germany that she would be held to "strict accountability" for any injury done to Americans.

SINKING OF THE *Lusitania.* Germany, however, held to her purpose, and on May 7, 1915, torpedoed the British passenger vessel *Lusitania*, causing the death of 1153 men, women and children, including 128 American citizens. Expressing regret that American lives had been lost, Germany defended herself on the ground that although the *Lusitania* carried passengers, she also carried munitions, was armed, and was an auxiliary of the British navy. After an exchange of notes, Wilson declared that the repetition of such action affecting American citizens would be regarded as "deliberately unfriendly." This is the usual language threatening war; and in September Germany pledged that "liners will not be sunk . . . without warning and without safety of the lives of non-combatants, provided that liners do not try to escape or offer resistance." This pledge she broke in March, 1916, when the passenger steamer *Sussex* was torpedoed, injuring several American citizens.

DECLARATION OF WAR. After the election of 1916, in which Wilson appears to have been reëlected chiefly on the cry that "he kept us out of war," he addressed notes to the governments of the warring nations, asking them to state their war aims in the hope that this might clear the air and result in negotiations and peace. This effort toward peace proved futile. Germany, believing that her submarine warfare was proving sufficiently successful to bring victory in the near future, determined to stake her all on it. On January 31, 1917, she resumed unrestricted submarine warfare;[1] four days later the United States terminated diplomatic relations. On April 2 the President in a memorable address asked Congress to declare war. Denouncing the German government as "irresponsible" and as having "cast aside all considerations of humanity," he continued:

> Our motives will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right. . . . It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts. . . . The world must be made safe for democracy.

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[1] Germany offered to allow one American vessel a week, plainly marked, and carrying no contraband, to sail through a narrow lane of safety.

On April 4 the Senate by a vote of 86 to 6 declared a state of war existing between Germany and the United States, and two days later the House concurred by a vote of 373 to 50.[1]

A DEMOCRACY ORGANIZES FOR WAR

4. Men. There was some uncertainty during the early weeks of the war as to the exact nature of our contribution to the Allied cause. It was at first believed that it would be chiefly in the form of naval coöperation and of money and commodities. Because of this, Germany did not take our entrance seriously, for she believed that we had furnished this sort of help since the beginning of the war. The total military forces of the nation, including the regular army, National Guard and reserves, numbered about 300,000 men, a force too small to be of much value in Europe. At any rate, it was believed that a year's preparation would be necessary before American military coöperation could be effective.

The seriousness of the Allied situation, however, was not fully appreciated in America. The Allies needed not only money and goods, but all of the man strength which we could provide. The Russian Revolution of March, 1917, resulted in the eventual withdrawal of Russia from the war, leaving Germany free to move most of her troops from the eastern front and concentrate them in France. Italy had suffered severe reverses in an Austro-German offensive which had almost wrecked her military machine. The activities of the German submarines were so successful that British naval officials predicted defeat for the Allies unless some means were devised to check the activities of the German under-sea warfare.

At first the Allies were not optimistic that the United States could send a large fighting force to France, but they urged that a small force be sent at once as a symbol of American aid and as encouragement to the war-weary peoples. In consequence, General John J. Pershing was picked to command an American Expeditionary force (A.E.F.), and the first troops sailed in May.

Raising an Army. Whether American military coöperation on the western front was to be great or small, it was necessary to have a large army in reserve at home. A bill was immediately presented to Congress to call the state militia into the service of the national government, to increase by enlistment the regular army and militia to their full strength,[2] and to draft a national army of 500,000 or 1,000,000 men. Although there had been compulsory drafts of men in the War between the States for both the Union and Confederate armies, conscription was in general contrary to American tradition and was strongly opposed in Congress. Nevertheless, this Selective Service Act passed as the fairest and most efficient method of raising a large force. The act made liable to military service all male citizens between 21 and 30 years (with certain exemptions), and later legislation extended the age limits to from 18 to 45 inclusive.

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[1] War against Austria was not declared until December 7, 1917, and no declaration of war was made against Turkey or Bulgaria.

[2] Provision for an increase in the regular army and National Guard had been made a year earlier as the climax to a "Preparedness Campaign."

In June, 1917, over 9,586,000 men were registered in 4557 registration districts, and in September 500,000 were called to the colors. In the meantime training camps had been established to train officers for the troops to be called, and 32 camps were speedily constructed in various parts of the country to receive the National Guard units and the drafted men. In all, over 24,234,000 men were registered in continental United States and its dependencies, of whom 2,810,296 were called into service. If to this number are added those enlisted in the regular army, the National Guard, the Marine Corps and the navy, about 4,800,000 men served during the war in the armed forces of the United States. With remarkable speed the army was trained and sent across. By June, 1918, one-third of it was in France, and by November over half; more than 2,000,000 of the soldiers reached France.

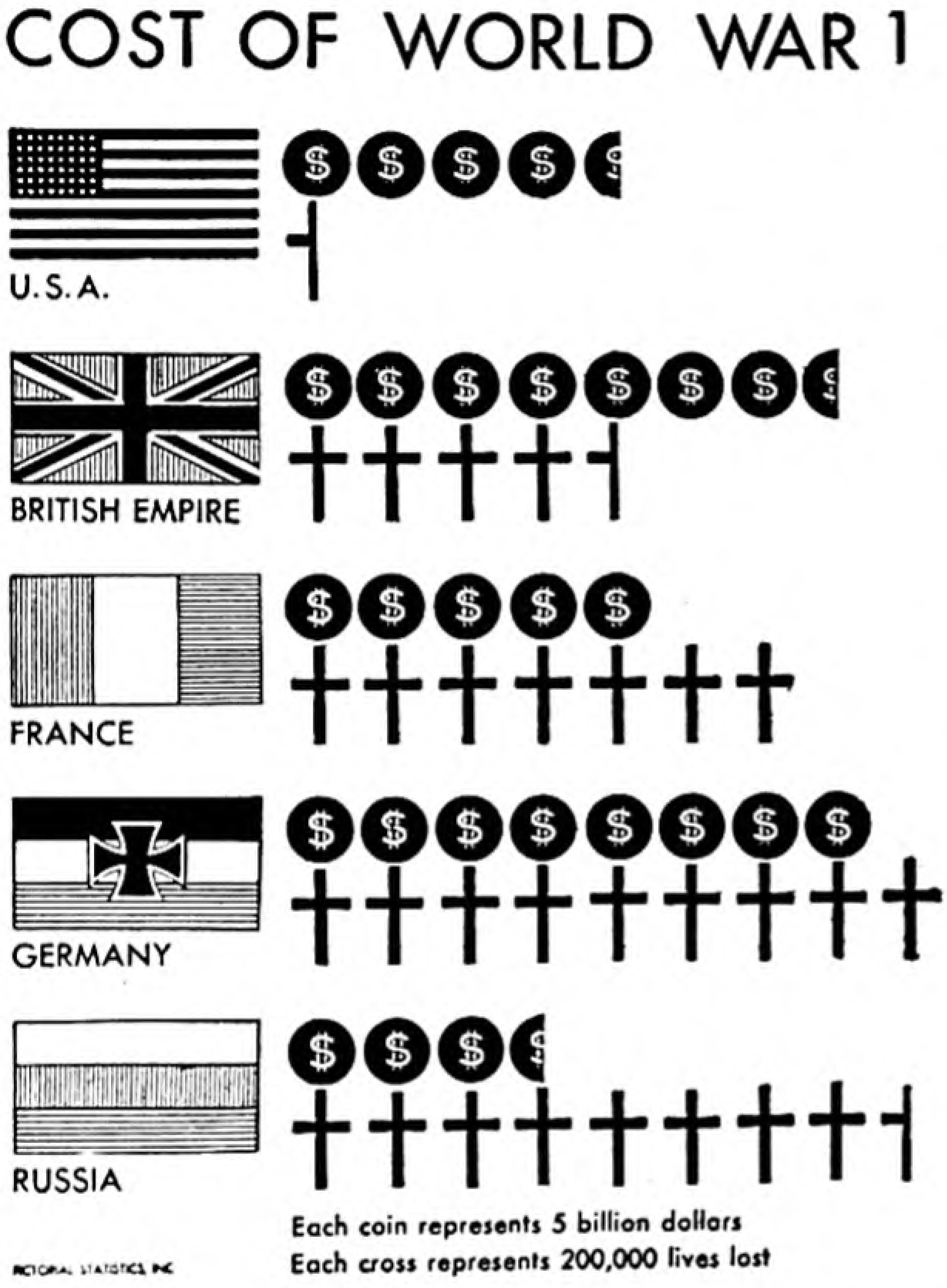

FIG. 14

5. **Money.** The cost of the war to the United States, exclusive of the loss of life and suffering involved and the subsequent payments to veterans, runs into figures almost beyond human comprehension. The immediate cost of the war was $22,000,000,000. Including nearly $9,500,000,000 loaned to foreign governments, the direct cost for the three years

following the declaration of war was around $35,500,000,000. This was three times the total expenditures of the federal government during the first hundred years of its existence, and over $1,000,000 an hour during the 25 months following the declaration of war.

The first problem to be settled in financing the war was the question as to what proportion of the cost was to be borne by taxes, and what proportion by the sale of bonds. In other words, what part of the cost was to be paid by the generation which fought the war, and what portion was to be placed on the backs of generations to come? As it turned out, about one-third was raised by taxation, and the rest by bonds. Beginning with the War Revenue Bill, Congress raised steeply the income, inheritance, and excise taxes. It also inaugurated (1) a war excess profits tax on the incomes of corporations, partnerships and individuals ranging from 15 to 60 per cent, (2) taxes on luxuries and amusements, (3) taxes on instruments and legal documents of various kinds, and (4) taxes on facilities furnished by public utilities. The Democratic Congress, however, standing firm on the principle of a lower tariff, refused to raise the schedules of the Underwood Tariff passed in 1913.

The money which the government borrowed was obtained by means of four "Liberty Loans" and one "Victory Loan." Unlike former wars, the government made a direct appeal to the people, and by selling the bonds in denominations as low as $50 received aid from millions who until then had never seen a government bond. Over 22,000,000 people bought bonds in the "Fourth Liberty Loan." All of the bonds offered for sale were purchased and about $21,500,000,000 were obtained. Never during the war did the government suffer from inadequate funds or credit.

6. Materials. Quite as important as the development of a large and efficient army and navy was the problem of increasing the production of all kinds of commodities and of maintaining an uninterrupted flow of these commodities to Europe. Not only had we to supply the means of living and fighting for our own rapidly growing army, but we had also to contribute to the needs of our Allies, who were using the loans advanced by our government to purchase American goods. A start toward the solving of this problem had been made before we entered the war. We have already noted the establishment of a United States Shipping Board in 1916. This was reorganized in 1917 as the United States Emergency Fleet Corporation with greatly enlarged powers, chief of which was the actual construction of merchant vessels. Through the expenditure of around $1,000,000,000, this body succeeded in raising the tonnage of American vessels engaged in foreign trade from a little over 2,000,000 to more than 11,000,000.

ECONOMIC CONTROL. Before the war there had also been created (1916) a Council of National Defense to coördinate industries and resources for the national security and welfare. This Council consisted of the Secretaries of War, Navy, Interior, Agriculture, Commerce and Labor, who were assisted by other experts and committees such as those on shipping, inland waterways, coal production, aircraft production, and munitions. After the declaration of war other helpful bodies were added —the War Industries Board to aid in regulating and promoting the production and purchase of war materials, and a War Trade Board to deal with commerce and foreign trade relations. A War Finance Corporation was created to distribute credit to essential war industries. Two labor boards—a War Labor Policies Board and a War Labor Board—were likewise established. The first was to determine the general policy of the government toward hours, wages, and working conditions in war industries, and the second to arbitrate disputes between employers and employees. The whole was a remarkable demonstration of what could be done to coördinate the economic life of the nation in a great emergency.

FOOD CONTROL. Of all commodities, none was more important than foodstuffs and fuels. By the Food Control Act the government was given power to control foods, fuels (including fuel oil and natural gas), fertilizers and fertilizer ingredients, tools, utensils, implements, machinery, and equipment required for the actual production of foods and fuel. The act forbade hoarding, willful destruction and unfair practices, and gave the government power to fix the price and regulate the production and distribution of food. Under it the people observed wheatless, meatless, and even fuelless days, and accustomed themselves to the consumption of less sugar and other commodities.

GOVERNMENT OPERATION OF RAILROADS. As a climax to all this came government operation of railroads in March, 1918. Under private control the railroads had done their best to rise to the occasion, but the problems of handling the vast increase in freight and the rapid movement of troops became too great without central control. In the Railroad Control Act adequate provision was made to protect and maintain railroad property and income, and it included a promise to return the railroads to their owners within one year and nine months following ratification of peace. William G. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury, was made Director General of Railroads. Regional organizations were set up to promote efficiency, and rates and wages were increased to bring railroad income in line with the general rise in prices.

7. **The War Spirit.** Considering the complexity of the issues involved, the distance of the conflict, and the diverse racial make-up of the American people, the nation responded with amazing agreement. A year

earlier the American people had been honestly divided as to the need and wisdom of entering the war but in 1917 Americans of every race rushed to enlist or submitted with but little objection to the draft. The *Lusitania* incident, the violation of neutral rights by Germany and the fear that German victory would spell the doom of democracy had won many to the war. Three years of unceasing Allied propaganda had had its effect. Furthermore, through immense private loans and exports, many Americans by 1917 had an economic interest in the success of the Allies.[1]

Whatever the causes for our entrance, American citizens responded without stint. In addition to government loans, they contributed $4,000,000,000 to various organizations interested in the physical and moral welfare of the soldiers—the Red Cross, the Salvation Army, the Knights of Columbus, the Jewish Welfare Board, the War Camp Community Service and the Y.M.C.A. On its part, the federal government set up its own propaganda office and distributed tons of literature, while 75,000 "four-minute speakers" urged the people to fuller coöperation. To shut off even the mildest form of criticism, an Espionage Act was passed and suspicious persons were clapped into jail. In all this the leadership was taken by President Wilson, whose stirring appeals in expressing the purposes of the war quickly made him the spokesman of the Allied cause.

OUR RESOURCES HELP BRING VICTORY TO THE ALLIES

8. The Navy in the War. Although the work of the American navy was not as spectacular as that of the army, our navy was extremely important in winning a final victory. Maintained at a high degree of efficiency since the Spanish-American War, it had been continually increased in size and was further enlarged by an appropriation of $100,000,000 in 1916. Under the command of Admiral William S. Sims, it coöperated with the British navy in blockading Germany, in laying a barrage of 56,000 mines across the British Channel, and in destroying German submarines, so that by the end of the war the Allies were building ships more rapidly than they were being sunk. Perhaps its most valuable work was in furnishing convoys for merchant vessels and troopships. Not a single American troopship was sunk in the eastward voyage during the 19 months of war. By the end of the war some 300 American warships manned by 75,000 officers and bluejackets were in European waters.

9. The Army in France. On June 8, 1917, General Pershing and his staff arrived in England, and a few days later established headquarters in Paris, whence he moved them in August to Chaumont. Close contact with the situation made it quickly evident to the American staff that actual military participation in France must be on a greater scale than had hitherto been realized in America. Consequently, Pershing communicated to his government, "It is evident that a force of 1,000,000 men is the smallest unit which in modern war will be a complete, well balanced and independent fighting unit," and recommended an army of 3,000,000, one-third of which should be in France and ready to take part in the spring offensive of 1918.

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[1] Americans had financed the Allied cause in loans to the extent of $1,500,000,000 before our entry into the war. Not more than $27,000,000 in German securities had been sold here.

The administration acted in complete accord with these recommendations of Pershing. On this side of the water every effort was made to raise and train an army even larger than that called for by Pershing. Munitions and other equipment factories were speeded, and the construction of a merchant marine was pushed aggressively. The pursuits of peace were quickly subordinated to those of war, and before many weeks the United States was on a strictly war footing.

THE FIRST YEAR. In France the American army largely concerned itself during the first year with preparations for the large-scale operations which were expected in the spring and summer of 1918. Although but 300,000 had arrived in France by March, 1918, the construction of docks, warehouses, railroads and training camps made possible the reception of 1,500,000 men who were to arrive in the last six months of the war.

10. The Critical Year. Never did the prospects of the Allied nations appear more critical than at the opening of 1918. Severe Italian defeats had rendered their army ineffective. The revolution in Russia, followed by the collapse of their offensive and a peace treaty signed with Germany in December, 1917, eliminated Russia from the war and released 500,000 German troops for the western front. Numerically, Germany had never been so strong in comparison to her enemies, and she was making tremendous preparations for a final offensive which was to close the war. American strength, except on the sea, had not yet become effective. It is no wonder that the spirit of the Allied peoples was at a low ebb.

The German offensive began on March 21 and continued in a series of five major assaults with but little intermission until about the middle of July. During these weeks they drove back the British and French lines, conquering 3000 square miles of territory and 150,000 prisoners. This effective blow finally brought a unified Allied command under Marshal Ferdinand Foch. It brought frantic requests for American troops on the ground that the Allies had about exhausted their manpower, and it brought the first major participation of American soldiers in the actual fighting.

Toward the end of May, Pershing moved 85,000 men to the aid of the

French. Successful assaults upon Cantigny and Belleau Wood demonstrated the fighting qualities of the American soldiers, but their greatest contribution was the defense of Château-Thierry, which prevented the German offensive from crossing the Marne and advancing on Paris 41 miles away. This defense by the Third Division was described by Pershing as "one of the most brilliant pages in our military annals."

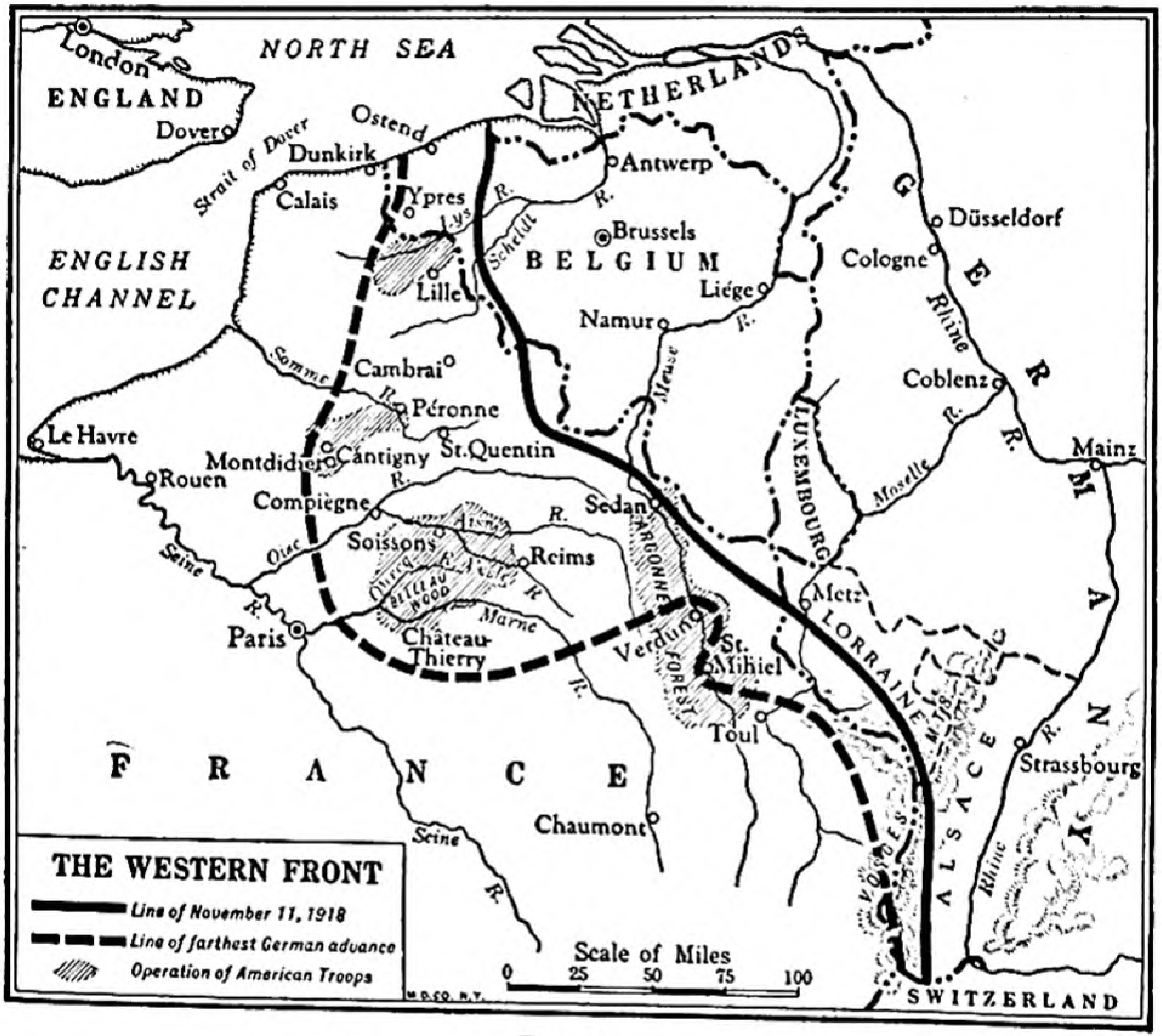
THE WESTERN FRONT
Line of November 11, 1918
Line of farthest German advance
Operation of American Troops
Scale of Miles
0
25
50
75
100
NORTH SEA
London
ENGLAND
Dover
Strait of Dover
Dunkirk
Ostend
Calais
ENGLISH CHANNEL
NETHERLANDS
Antwerp
Ypres
Lys
Lille
Scheldt R.
Brussels
BELGIUM
Liège
Namur
Meuse
Düsseldorf
Cologne
Rhine
Coblenz
GERMANY
Mainz
Moselle
LUXEMBOURG
Somme
Cambrai
Péronne
St.Quentin
Le Havre
Rouen
Montdidier
Cantigny
Compiègne
Oise
Seine
Soissons
Aisne R.
Reims
Ourcq R.
Vesle
BELLEAU WOOD
Marne
Paris
Château-Thierry
Sedan
ARGONNE
Verdun
St. Mihiel
FOREST
Metz
LORRAINE
Toul
FRANCE
Chaumont
Seine R.
VOSGES MTS.
ALSACE
Strassbourg
Rhine
SWITZERLAND

FIG. 15

Mid-July marked the height of German military power. Their check at Château-Thierry was the beginning of the end. On July 18 Foch launched an offensive against the Germans. With eight American divisions numbering 250,000 men, and one French division, he struck the front between Soissons and Château-Thierry and by August 6 had straightened out the salient.

11. The St. Mihiel-Argonne Offensive. From the beginning Pershing had planned that the American army should act as a unit and that a definite section of the front should be assigned to it. The southern part of the battle line was accordingly turned over to him, and preparations were made to occupy a 45-mile sector south of Reims. This was an important sector, for behind it lay the Briey iron mines, the coal fields east of Metz, and important railroad lines leading to a large part of the western front. The piercing of this line meant success for the Allies.

Early in September Pershing collected his divisions from the various parts of the line where they had been fighting, organized them into the First American Field Army and took over this important sector. His first objective was the reduction of the St. Mihiel salient. With 550,000 Americans, supported by 48,000 French and several hundred British and French tanks and airplanes, he launched his attack on September 12 and in three days had cleared the salient (see map, Fig. 15).

MEUSE-ARGONNE OFFENSIVE. Scarcely had the St. Mihiel salient been flattened before the American army commenced the Meuse-Argonne drive (September 20-November 11), the most important operation conducted by our forces. The objective was Sedan. No part of the German line was more important and no part was more strongly fortified. A network of interwoven trenches averaging seven miles in width, protected by barbed wire and interspersed with concrete machine gun implacements, made it in the opinion of the Allies virtually impregnable. Upon this line Pershing threw 22 American divisions, and for 47 days hammered away until he had cleared the Argonne forest and reached the outskirts of Sedan. Americans to the number of 1,200,000 had participated in the drive which had resulted in 120,000 casualties, but they had pushed back the German line 30 miles, had occupied 560 square miles of territory and had captured 28,000 prisoners as well as large quantities of munitions and supplies.

12. The Armistice. While American troops were pouring into France, President Wilson was preparing the way for a discussion of peace terms. In January, 1918, he proposed 14 points as "the only basis of peace."[1] Time and again he emphasized the fact that the United States was not interested in injuring Germany, but rather in freeing the German people from the "vast military establishment controlled by an irresponsible government." It was a fight against the "military masters of Germany" rather than the German people. It was a "war to end war," a war "to make the world safe for democracy," and the peace would be a "peace of justice." It was effective propaganda not only in arousing the idealism of the Allied peoples but in weakening the enthusiasm of the German people for the war.

Weeks before the American "doughboys" were within sight of Sedan, the German government realized that the war had been lost. The alliance of the Central Powers was breaking up. Bulgaria signed an armistice on September 20, and a few days later Austria asked for terms. In the hope of a merciful peace, the Kaiser accepted the resignation of his Junker chancellor, and appointed Prince Maximilian, a liberal and an advocate of peace. At the same time the government was changed so as to make the chancellor responsible to the German parliament.

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[1] These will be discussed at the opening of the next chapter.

On October 4 Maximilian asked President Wilson for an armistice and the negotiation of a treaty of peace based upon the Fourteen Points. After being convinced of the sincerity of the German proposals, Wilson turned over the correspondence to the Allies on October 23. On November 5 the Allied governments through their military commanders made known the terms of the Armistice: the evacuation of all conquered territory, the withdrawal of German troops from the territory of their allies, the surrender of all Germany west of the Rhine and the bridgeheads at Cologne, Coblenz and Mainz, the erection of a neutral zone east of the Rhine, and the surrender of most of the German navy.

In the meantime revolutions had swept Austria-Hungary, breaking that empire into small republics, while in every German state the old rulers were deposed and republics established. On November 8 the revolutionists gained control of Berlin and on November 10 the Kaiser fled to Holland. The next day at five in the morning German representatives signed the Armistice, and at eleven o'clock for the first time in four years the guns on the western front ceased firing.

COST OF THE WAR. The immediate objective of the war, the defeat of Germany, was accomplished, but the cost in men and money was enormous. To the 7,450,000 men killed in battle must be added a greater number disabled or brought to an early death by wounds, and the fatalities to the civilian population through disease and starvation. To the immediate cost of $186,000,000,000 must be added the later payments for pensions, the cost of reconstruction, and other losses too infinite to estimate. Could western civilization ever recover from this blow?

What part in this terrific struggle was taken by the United States? Of the 2,086,000 American soldiers who reached France, 1,390,000 saw active service at the front. American divisions were in battle for 200 days, holding in October 101 miles of line, or 23 per cent of the entire front. In round numbers, 50,000 Americans were killed in battle, 236,000 were wounded, 57,000 died of disease and 6500 of other causes. The immediate cost to the United States was $22,000,000,000; but subsequent payments to veterans, it is believed, will raise this to $100,000,000,000. Generations yet unborn were to shoulder some of the burden.

13. Our Adventure in Europe. The statement is often made that history repeats itself. This is not literally true because no two combinations of circumstances can be exactly the same. Nevertheless, it is possible to find in history situations enough alike to produce somewhat similar results. We have seen how, 100 years earlier during the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, the United States found her rights as a neutral infringed by France and Great Britain, and how in 1812 she was drawn into a world struggle. The same thing happened during the First World War. In 1812 the United States declared war upon only one nation and the conflict was waged only upon the American continent and the high seas. In the First World War we declared war upon both Germany and Austria, coöperated closely with England, France and Italy, and sent our military force to operate upon the European continent. There were similarities, but there were also differences.

To accomplish the defeat of Germany was to prove a much easier task than that of making a fair and lasting peace, and the adventure upon which we embarked was not to end with the Armistice. "Everything for which America fought has been accomplished," said President Wilson in announcing the Armistice. "It will now be our fortunate duty to assist by example, by sober friendly counsel, and by material aid in the establishment of just democracy throughout the world." To what extent these high hopes were realized will be considered in the following chapter.

Can You Use These Terms?

A. Underscore the phrases or expressions that correctly complete the following statements. There may be more than one correct response to a statement.

1. By a "place in the sun" Germany, in the days before the First World War, meant that she: (a) wanted to obtain colonies comparable to those held by other powerful nations; (b) felt she was entitled to wider markets; (c) was a great military power.
2. The Triple Alliance formed in the late 1800's consisted of: (a) England, France, Russia; (b) Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy; (c) England, France, Italy.
3. A nation that loans money or sells goods to other countries over and above the value of imported goods: (a) becomes debtor nation; (b) becomes creditor nation; (c) is said to have a "favorable balance of trade."

Do You Know the Facts?

B. Match the following items in the right-hand column with the proper choices in the left-hand column. To do this insert the number or numbers of choices in the parentheses in front of the proper item or items.

CHOICES		ITEMS
1. Where American troops first fought	a. (	) William G. McAdoo
2. His assassination touched off the First World War	b. (	) Marshal Foch
3. American victory that prevented Germans from crossing the Marne River	c. (	) Francis Ferdinand
4. Secretary of the Treasury in First World War	d. (	) Cantigny and Belleau Wood
5. Commanded the A.E.F. in France	e. (	) Central Powers
6. Allied Commander-in-Chief on the Western Front	f. (	) Château-Thierry
7. President Wilson's peace formula	g. (	) Meuse-Argonne drive
8. Most important operation by American forces	h. (	) Fourteen Points
9. Joined the Central Powers	i. (	) John J. Pershing
10. Germany, Austria-Hungary	j. (	) Turkey and Bulgaria

C. Underscore the phrases or expressions that correctly complete the following statements. There may be more than one correct response to a statement.

1. Our imperialistic ventures in Mexico and the Caribbean area in the earlier 1900's resembled similar activities elsewhere by: (a) England and the larger nations of northwestern Europe; (b) Japan; (c) China and the larger Latin American republics.
2. During the years before the First World War: (a) France wanted to get back Alsace-Lorraine, her former territory on the German frontier; (b) Russia, Turkey and Austria were anxious to dominate the same area in southeastern Europe; (c) Italy and Austria had their eyes on the same Balkan area.
3. Most historians agree that the First World War: (a) was caused solely by Germany; (b) was brought about by Russian and French agreements to dismember Germany; (c) came about because all European nations during the latter 1800's and early 1900's followed policies that led inevitably to war.
4. Our neutral rights were disregarded by: (a) Germany only; (b) England only; (c) both sides.
5. We declared war on Germany in April, 1917, because the Germans: (a) sank the *Lusitania*; (b) resumed their submarine campaign in January of that year; (c) sank the *Sussex*, injuring American passengers.
6. The first American war in which troops were drafted was the: (a) War between the States; (b) First World War; (c) Second World War.
7. During the First World War the total number of men in our armed forces was about: (a) 2,500,000; (b) 4,800,000; (c) 7,500,000.

GIRLS SO

8. In the First World War the nation that had the greatest number of total casualties was: (a) France; (b) Russia; (c) Germany.
9. Because of the excellent convoy system maintained by the American navy in the First World War: (a) no troopships bound for Europe were sunk; (b) only five European-bound troopships were torpedoed; (c) only nine outward bound troop transports were destroyed by U-boats.
10. The A.E.F. in France reached a total of about: (a) 750,000 men; (b) 500,000 men; (c) 2,000,000 men.
11. American troops in France operated largely on the: (a) northern part of the front; (b) central sectors of the front; (c) southern portion of the front.
12. In our biggest single operation, centered in the Argonne Forest and lasting for more than six weeks, the total number of American troops participating under General Pershing's command was: (a) 300,000; (b) 600,000; (c) 1,200,000.
13. Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points first were proposed: (a) before we entered the war; (b) less than a year before the armistice was signed; (c) after the armistice was signed.
14. The immediate cost of the First World War to the United States alone totaled about: (a) $5,500,000,000; (b) $11,000,000,000; (c) $22,000,000,000.

Can You Use What You Have Learned?

D. In the right-hand column is a list of items concerning the Second World War. In the left-hand column is a list of items pertaining to the First World War. Match the items concerning the First World War that were similar in purpose to the proper items pertaining to the Second World War. To do this insert the numbers of the items in the left-hand column in the appropriate parentheses in front of the items in the right-hand column.

FIRST WORLD WAR

1. War Finance Corporation
2. William G. McAdoo
3. Fourteen Points
4. War Industries Board
5. War Trade Board
6. Food Control Act
7. Marshal Ferdinand Foch
8. Liberty Bonds
9. War Labor Board
10. Selective Service Act

SECOND WORLD WAR

a. (   ) War Production Board
b. (   ) General Dwight Eisenhower
c. (   ) War bonds
d. (   ) Selective Training and Service Act
e. (   ) Reconstruction Finance Corporation
f. (   ) Henry Morgenthau
g. (   ) Atlantic Charter
h. (   ) Office of Price Administration
i. (   ) Office of Lend-Lease Administration
j. (   ) National War Labor Board

Summarizing Exercise

E. In each of the following incomplete sentences write the appropriate item or items in the blank space or spaces.

1. The diversity of national groups in the United States made in practically impossible for the American people to remain strictly when the First World War began.
2. During the First World War control of the sea and the cables enabled the to censor most European news.
3. One immediate effect of the First World War was to change the United States from a debtor nation to a nation.
4. The immediate cause of our entry into the First World War was Germany's unrestricted warfare.
5. To provide an efficient, fair means of raising an army the Act was passed about a month after we entered the First World War.
6. The Commander-in-Chief of the Allied forces in France in the latter part of the First World War was the French general .
7. The biggest single operation executed by American troops in the First World War took place in the Forest.
8. Woodrow Wilson's plan for peace was called the .
9. The United States was drawn into the Napoleonic and First World Wars partly because our rights were violated.

Class or Correspondence Assignments

F. See general instructions, p. vi.

1. Compare our participation in the two World Wars touching upon: (a) reasons for our entry; (b) industrial and military mobilization; (c) general extent and character of military operations.
2. What steps did President Woodrow Wilson taken in an effort to preserve our neutrality in the First World War? Show how events and conditions made it impossible for us to remain neutral.
3. Describe the general nature of the underlying causes of the First World War touching upon: (a) colonial rivalries; (b) European rivalries; (c) measures that might be taken to eliminate or greatly weaken such rivalries.

Suggested Readings

Textbooks:

Some general treatments of the First World War are: J. T. Adams, *The Epic of America*, chap. xiii; J. S. Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, chap. xliii; C. A. Beard and M. R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, II, chap. xxviii; C. Becker, *The History of Modern Europe, Imperialism and World Conflict*, EM-206, chap. iii; H. U. Faulkner, *American Polit-*

ical and Social History, chap. xxxvi. A fuller treatment is C. Seymour, *Woodrow Wilson and the World War*. S. Thomas, *The History of the A.E.F.*, is an account of American operations on the western front.

Biographies:

General Pershing gives his own account in *My Experiences in the World War*. T. Skeyhill (ed.), *Sergeant York*, is an account of the man who was one of our greatest heroes.

Historical Novels:

Some of the very excellent novels concerning the First World War are: V. Blasco Ibañez, *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*; W. Cather, *One of Ours*; M. Lee, *"It's a Great War!"*; H. G. Wells, *Mr. Britling Sees It Through*; C. B. Nordhoff and J. N. Hall, *Falcons of France* (the Lafayette Flying Corps); H. Barbusse, *Under Fire*; S. L. Sassoon, *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer*. See also C. Dawson, A. Maurois, A. Zweig and H. C. Minchin (eds.), *Best Short Stories of the War*.

Have you made a good start on your Course Essay? See p. vii of this book.

Have you applied for your End-of-Course Test? See p. vii of this book.

CHAPTER X

America in World Politics

WILSON PARTICIPATES IN PEACE-MAKING

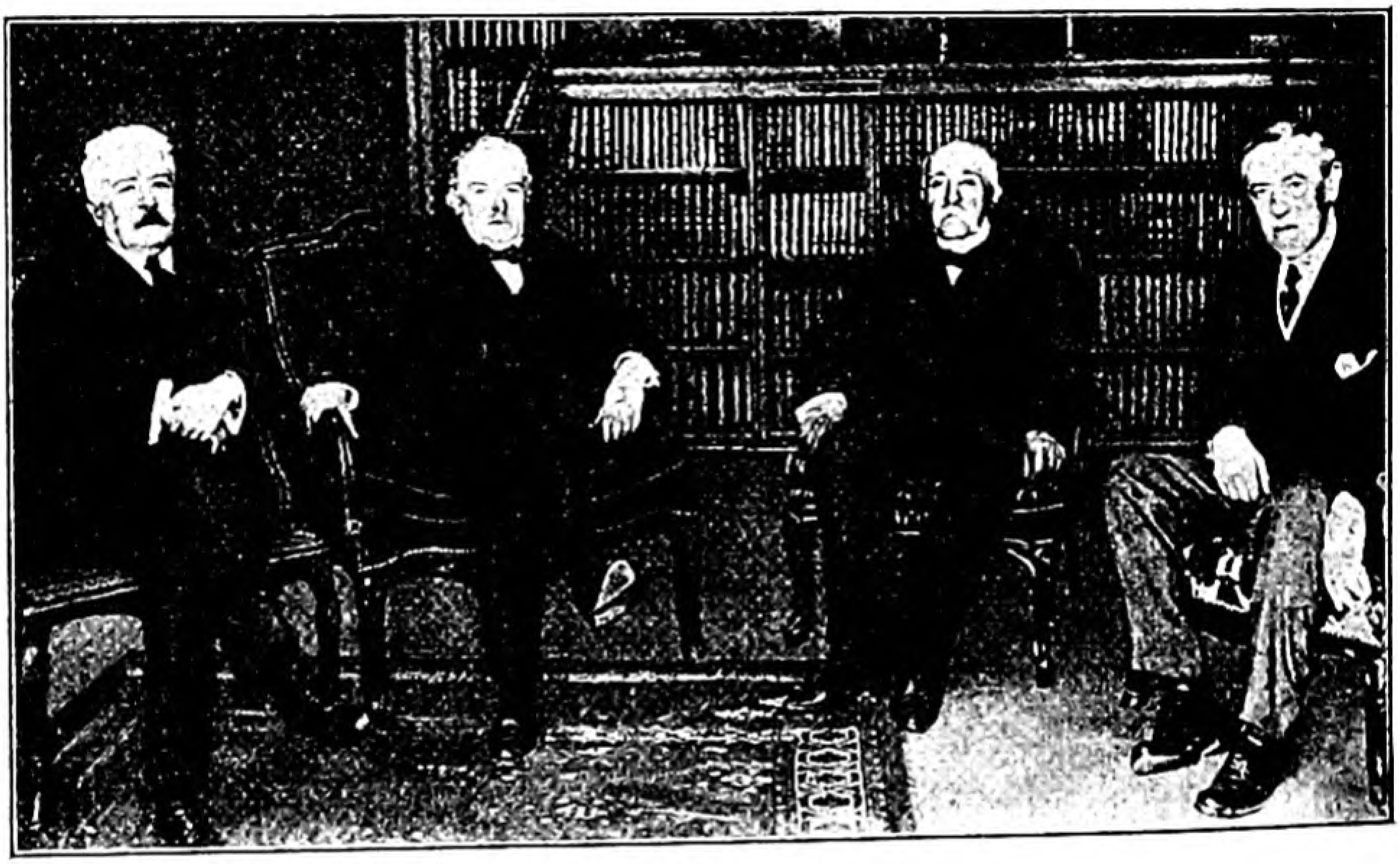
1. **The Fourteen Points.** Except to accomplish the defeat of Germany, little was generally known of the war aims of the Allied governments. After the Bolshevik revolution in Russia in November, 1917, certain secret treaties which the allied nations had made with one another were published by the Bolshevik government. These treaties revealed that the Allied nations, as well as the Central Powers, were fighting for definite selfish gains. Russia, for instance, had been promised Constantinople and Poland; France was to extend her territory to the Rhine; Great Britain was to have the German colonies, and Italy was promised lands at the expense of Austria. Were these the real aims of the Allies? Russia wanted to know this, and so did Germany. The objectives stated in the secret treaties were hardly consistent with Wilson's idealistic utterances that it was a war "to make the world safe for democracy," and a conflict not with the German people but with their autocratic rulers.

In part to counteract the effect of the secret treaties, Wilson in a message to Congress on January 8, 1918, outlined his famous Fourteen Points as the basis for a generous peace. The first five were general in nature and dealt with international relations:

(1) Open covenants or treaties of peace openly arrived at; (2) Freedom of the seas in peace and war except as they "may be closed in whole or in part by international action"; (3) Removal of economic barriers between nations; (4) Reduction of national armaments; (5) Impartial adjustment of territorial claims. The next eight points had to do chiefly with territorial adjustments in Europe and in the Turkish Empire. Especially important among these points were those dealing with the boundaries of the new Germany, the independence of the peoples in the old Austro-Hungarian Empire and self-determination for different groups in the Turkish Empire.

In the mind of President Wilson the Fourteenth Point was undoubtedly the most important. It called for the formation of a "general association of nations" for the purpose of guaranteeing the independence and territory of both large and small states. It was this point that was behind the League of Nations, which was soon to be set up and which Wilson believed would not only maintain a just peace but prevent future wars.

2. **The Treaty of Versailles.** The Fourteen Points were anything but specific in details, but they represented the hopes of millions who looked forward to a Europe reconstructed on a saner basis. The Fourteen Points were Wilson's, and he decided, contrary to precedent, to go himself to the Peace Conference to work in their behalf. As his colleagues on the Peace Commission he chose Robert Lansing, Secretary of State; Edward M. House, who had acted since 1914 as Wilson's confidential agent; General Tasker H. Bliss; and Henry White, a Republican who had served in various important diplomatic posts. With them went a considerable number of experts who for months had been working on the various problems which were bound to present themselves at the Peace Conference.



THE BIG FOUR

The inner group at the Peace Conference who were primarily responsible for the final form of the Versailles Treaty. From left to right: Premier Orlando of Italy, Prime Minister Lloyd George of Great Britain, Premier Clemenceau of France, and President Wilson.

WILSON IN EUROPE. Wilson reached France in December, 1918, and made formal state visits to London and Rome. Everywhere he was greeted with the wildest enthusiasm and hailed as the Moses who was to lead the common people of Europe out of the bondage of oppression and into a better day. However, by the time the Conference opened on January 18, 1919, it was evident that any peace based upon the idealism of Wilson's Fourteen Points was hardly possible. Allied leaders were demanding revenge and the destruction of Germany. Lloyd George had been returned to power in the "khaki elections" of 1918 when, to influence the votes of the returned soldiers, the campaign slogan had been "hang the Kaiser and squeeze the Germans to the last penny." France, under the leadership of Clemenceau, was demanding revenge, annexations and the reduction of Germany to a position from which she would never recover. Other Allied nations were specific in their demands as to the spoils which they desired. There were also the secret treaties among the Allied nations, many provisions of which were in direct conflict with the Fourteen Points.

Finally, Wilson's own position in demanding a "peace of justice" was weakened as the result of the elections of 1918 in the United States. Unwisely, perhaps, Wilson had been prevailed upon just before the elections to appeal to the nation to return a Democratic Congress on the ground that a united leadership was necessary for settlement of the complicated problems of reconstruction. Politics, which to a great extent had been adjourned during the war, now blazed forth fiercely. Wilson apparently lost the support of the majority of the voters, and the Republicans came into control of both houses of Congress. Moreover, there were many in America who were demanding a peace of revenge rather than a peace of justice.

MAKING THE TREATY. The Conference had hardly convened before it became quite evident that the terms of the treaty of peace would not be written by it, or by the Council of Ten which began to meet in January,[1] but rather by Lloyd George of England, Clemenceau of France and President Wilson, meeting in secret. Thus the first of the Fourteen Points, "open covenants of peace openly arrived at," was thrown to the winds; and this was typical of what was to follow. Confronted by the secret treaties and the spirit of revenge as well as by the fact that many of the Allied leaders had little interest in the League of Nations, Wilson fought desperately during the weeks of negotiation to save his Fourteen Points, and in particular, the League of Nations. Under terrific pressure, he was time and again forced to give way until the Fourteen Points all but disappeared. The League of Nations, however, survived, and through it, Wilson hoped, the injustices of the treaty might finally be remedied.

On June 28, in the famous Hall of Mirrors in the Palace of Versailles,

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[1] This council contained two representatives each from the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan. This was expected to be the real working body of the conference, but the important decisions were reached by the three men mentioned above, with the addition occasionally of Orlando of Italy.

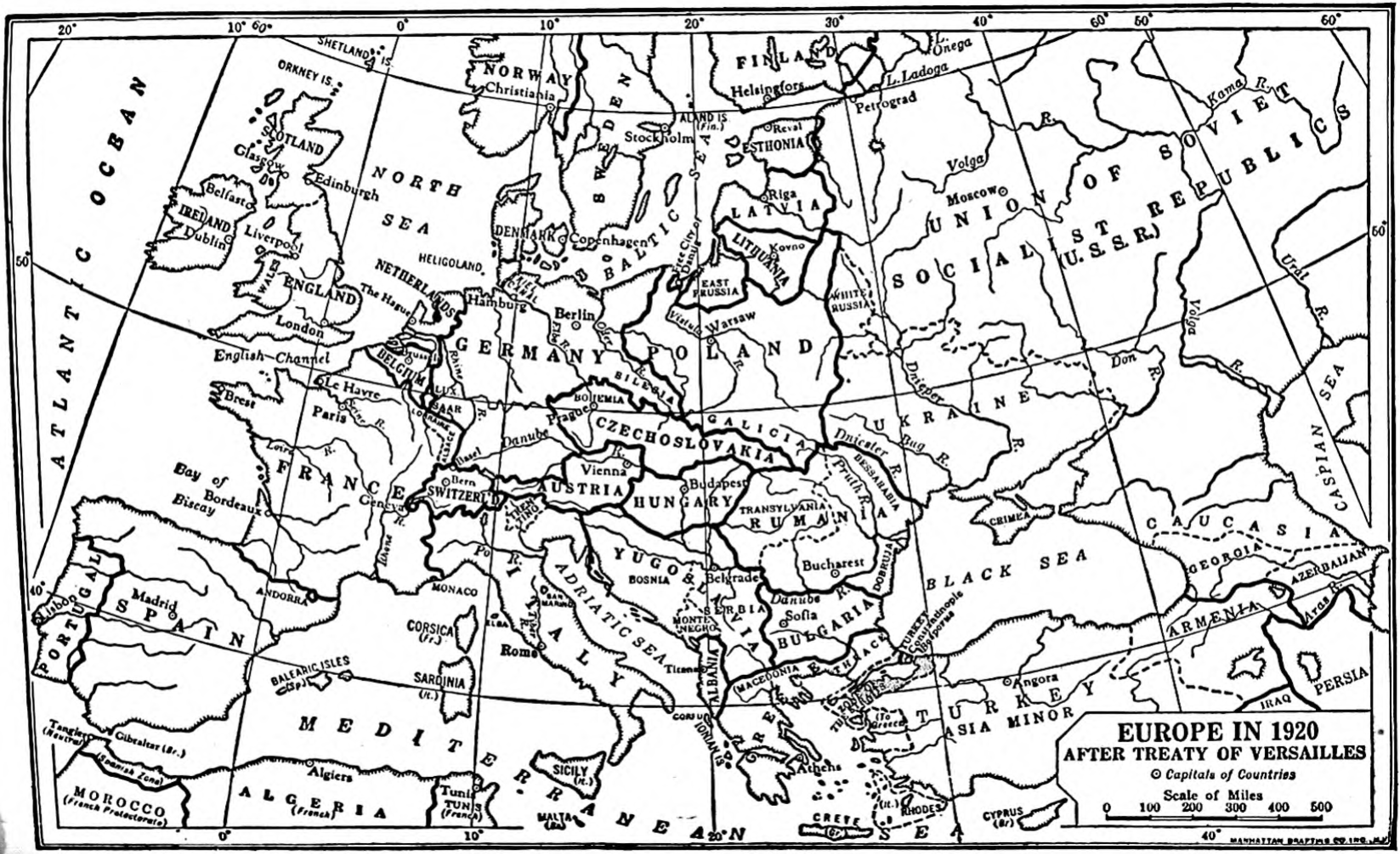
EUROPE IN 1920
AFTER TREATY OF VERSAILLES
⊙ Capitals of Countries
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Bay of Biscay
English Channel
SHETLAND IS.
ORKNEY IS.
SCOTLAND
Glasgow
Edinburgh
IRELAND
Belfast
Dublin
Liverpool
WALES
ENGLAND
London
HELIGOLAND
NETHERLANDS
The Hague
BELGIUM
Brussels
LUX.
SAAR
LORRAINE
ALSACE
Le Havre
Brest
Paris
Seine R.
Loire R.
FRANCE
Bordeaux
Geneva
Rhone R.
SWITZERLAND
Bern
Basel
NORWAY
Christiania
SWEDEN
Stockholm
ALAND IS. (Fin.)
DENMARK
Copenhagen
KIEL CANAL
Hamburg
GERMANY
Berlin
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Rhine
R.
FINLAND
Helsingfors
L. Onega
L. Ladoga
Petrograd
ESTHONIA
Reval
LATVIA
Riga
LITHUANIA
Kovno
EAST PRUSSIA
Free City of Danzig
Vistula
Warsaw
POLAND
SILESIA
BOHEMIA
Prague
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
GALICIA
Danube
Vienna
AUSTRIA
TRENTINO
HUNGARY
Budapest
TRANSYLVANIA
RUMANIA
Bucharest
BESSARABIA
Pruth R.
Dniester R.
Bug R.
DOBRUJA
WHITE RUSSIA
UKRAINE
Dnieper R.
Don R.
Volga
Moscow
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS (U.S.S.R.)
Kama R.
Ural R.
CRIMEA
CAUCASIA
GEORGIA
AZERBAIJAN
ARMENIA
Aras R.
PERSIA
IRAQ
YUGOSLAVIA
BOSNIA
Belgrade
SERBIA
MONTENEGRO
ALBANIA
Tirana
BULGARIA
Sofia
Danube R.
MACEDONIA
THRACE
TURKEY
Constantinople
Bosporus
THE STRAITS
(To Greece)
GREECE
Athens
IONIAN IS.
CORFU
CRETE (Gr.)
RHODES (It.)
CYPRUS (Br.)
TURKEY
ASIA MINOR
Angora
ITALY
Po R.
Tiber R.
Rome
SAN MARINO
ELBA
MONACO
CORSICA (Fr.)
SARDINIA (It.)
SICILY (It.)
MALTA (Br.)
Tunis
TUNIS (French)
ALGERIA (French)
Algiers
MOROCCO (French Protectorate)
Spanish Zone
Tangier (Neutral)
Gibraltar (Br.)
SPAIN
Madrid
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
ANDORRA
BALEARIC ISLES (Sp.)
20°
10°
0°
30°
40°
50°
60°
MANHATTAN DRAFTING CO. INC. N.Y.

FIG. 16

Germany signed the treaty under protest. By it she was forced to assume sole guilt for the war; to cede Alsace-Lorraine to France and other territories to Denmark, Poland and Belgium; to surrender her colonies; to reduce her army to 100,000 men; to destroy her fortifications in large areas; to allow Allied occupation of strategic points for 15 years, and to make money payments known as reparations for 30 years up to her ability to pay, the amount to be determined annually by the victors. Subsequently, treaties with the defeated allies of Germany were also signed.

The combined treaties created a new Europe. Space allows us merely to mention here that Germany was reduced, as just noted; Russia was made smaller by the creation of new states on her western boundary; Bulgaria lost territory that she had recently gained in the Balkan wars; the Turkish Empire was broken up. On the other hand, Italy, Greece, Rumania and Serbia, as well as the nations which obtained land from Germany, were enlarged, and nine new independent states were created (see map, Fig. 16).

3. The Senate's Rejection of the Treaty. There were two parts of the Treaty of Versailles of immediate interest to the United States; one was the matter of reparations and the other the League of Nations. In later years, the question of reparations became entangled with that of the Allied war debts to the United States.[1] For the moment, however, it was the League of Nations which aroused the greatest controversy in this country.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. The League of Nations, which comprised the first part of the Treaty of Versailles and which Wilson hoped would prevent another catastrophe like the First World War, proposed to set up four bodies (see Fig. 17):

1. An *Assembly*, a deliberative body, to meet once a year, in which all member nations were to have equal representation and one vote.
2. A *Council*, with five permanent members (France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan and the United States) and four others elected by the Assembly to meet at least once a year and act somewhat as an executive committee.[2]
3. A permanent *Secretariat* at Geneva to conduct the necessary correspondence.
4. A *Permanent Court of International Justice* (World Court) to

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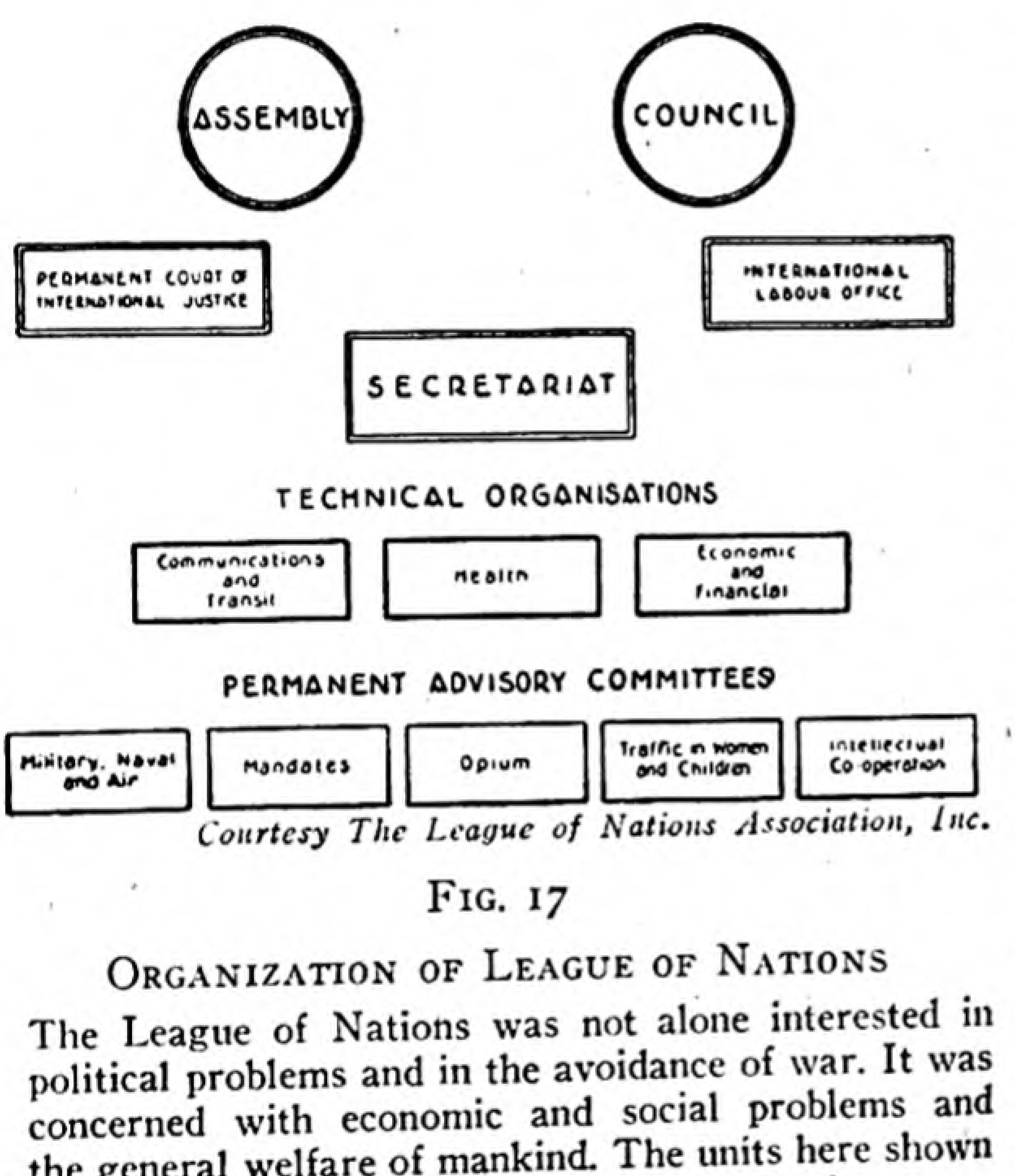
[1] The problem will be discussed in Chapter XI.

[2] Failure of the United States to join left four permanent and four elected members. During the 1930's elected members were increased to eleven. Germany and Russia were added to permanent membership; the former resigned, the latter was ousted.

judge disputes involving legal rights as distinguished from political interests.

As the chief purpose of the League was to prevent war, various methods were pointed out as to how this might be done. The Council, in the first place, was to formulate plans for a general reduction of armaments and, in the second place, to provide the machinery for the settlement of disputes by peaceful methods. The members of the League pledged themselves: (1) to respect the territory and existing political independence of all members of the League, (2) to bring to the attention of the League any circumstance which might disturb international peace or good understanding, and (3) to submit to arbitration or to the League Council disputes arising among them and to carry out the awards faithfully. To enforce these decisions the League might recommend an economic boycott or even armed force. In no case must there be war until three months after the Council or Court had made its decision.


ASSEMBLY
COUNCIL
PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE
INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE
SECRETARIAT
TECHNICAL ORGANISATIONS
Communications and Transit
Health
Economic and Financial
PERMANENT ADVISORY COMMITTEES
Military, Naval and Air
Mandates
Opium
Traffic in Women and Children
Intellectual Co-operation

Courtesy The League of Nations Association, Inc.

FIG. 17

ORGANIZATION OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The League of Nations was not alone interested in political problems and in the avoidance of war. It was concerned with economic and social problems and the general welfare of mankind. The units here shown are permanent parts of the organization.

AMERICAN CRITICISMS. The League, of course, did not abolish or ban war. It simply set up machinery to prevent it, and with this purpose the great majority of the American people were in agreement. However, there were several criticisms made of the League of Nations: (1) the British Empire might dominate the League;[1] (2) the United States as a member of the League might be again drawn into European wars, and many Americans were anxious to withdraw once more to a position of isolation; (3) the Treaty of Versailles was an outrageously unjust peace and Article X pledged the United States to maintain these injustices. The idealism and the coöperation, which had been so evident during the war, evaporated; and racial, political and national hatreds appeared to make impossible an unbiased consideration of this question.

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[1] The self-governing colonies of Great Britain (with 5 votes) and the Irish Free State had representation in the Assembly and might possibly be in the Council. Any danger here, however, was largely eliminated by Article V, which provided that "Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant or by the terms of the present Treaty, decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all members of the League represented at the meeting."

THE TREATY IN THE SENATE. While the Peace Conference was in session, Wilson returned for a brief visit to America to sign bills passed by Congress and to explain the League to members of the committees on foreign affairs of the House and Senate.

Just before Wilson returned to France, 39 Senators and Senators-elect signed a statement demanding that the League be separated from the treaty of peace and be taken up for consideration only after peace had been made. This Wilson refused to do, and on July 10 he formally placed before the Senate the treaty which included the League of Nations.

Opposition to the League was headed by Senator Lodge, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. This committee demanded certain changes, but these Wilson would not accept, believing that they would endanger the work of the Peace Conference and could be added, if desirable, after the League was established. As neither side would yield, Wilson decided to appeal directly to the people. A sick man when he started on his speech-making tour, he collapsed on September 26 as a result of a paralytic stroke.

THE TREATY DEFEATED. After the treaty was debated during two sessions it failed to secure the necessary two-thirds vote in the Senate. Congress then passed a joint resolution declaring the war with Germany at an end, but Wilson vetoed the resolution. The issue now entered the campaign of 1920, the Republican party definitely attacking the League as proposed by Wilson, but pledging to accomplish the same purposes by other means, and the Democrats advocating the "immediate ratification of the Treaty without reservations which would impair its essential integrity." A joint resolution ending the war was again passed in July, 1921, and signed by Harding. Separate treaties of peace were later signed with Germany, Austria and Hungary, and ratified by the Senate.

WORLD ORGANIZATIONS ARE CREATED TO MAINTAIN PEACE

4. American Peace Movement. The rejection of the League of Nations by the United States was no proof that there were not widespread interest and keen desire in this country for the promotion of international arbitration. The movement for peace which had been so active in the 1830's and 1840's had revived with new intensity in the first decade of the new century (*II, 5*). Peace organizations multiplied after 1898. Edwin Ginn in 1910 established the World Peace Foundation, and Andrew Carnegie in 1911 made a grant of $10,000,000 creating the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace "to hasten the abolition of international war, the foulest blot upon our civilization."

The United States had also taken the lead in submitting matters of dispute to arbitration. Up to 1907 this country had been a party to 60 arbitrations. Some of them—for example, those resulting from the Treaty of Washington of 1871 (*VII, 9*)—dealt with matters of extreme importance. By arbitration the United States had settled disputes over boundaries, fisheries, damage caused by war and civil disturbances—in short, many questions which might easily have led to war. The demilitarized boundary line between the United States and Canada under the Rush-Bagot Agreement (*VII, 3*) had been not only a great example to the world but a tremendous saving to the United States.

5. The Hague Conferences. To provide for arbitration, a special treaty was necessary, involving much labor and expense; and to ease this difficulty, leaders of the peace movement had long advocated a permanent court where disputes could be adjusted. Disturbed by the increasing burden of armaments and anxious to provide a more efficient machinery for arbitration, the Czar of Russia sent invitations for an international conference which met at the Hague in 1899. Nothing was accomplished toward reduction of armaments, but a permanent Court of Arbitration, known as the Hague Court, was created, consisting of a large number of judges from whom courts might be instituted to settle differences.

At the instigation of President Roosevelt and the invitation of the Czar, a second Hague Conference was called in 1907. Although little more was accomplished in the improvement of the machinery for arbitration, international law and the laws of war were given a clearer statement. To the United States and Mexico goes the credit for submitting the first case to the Hague Court. Andrew Carnegie donated a splendid building to house the court.

As the Hague Conventions bound no one to use the Hague Court, a large number of treaties were signed between various nations, agreeing to submit certain types of disputes to arbitration. During the Roosevelt and Taft administrations 22 such treaties became effective between the United States and other nations. The class of disputes which we bound ourselves to arbitrate was so rigidly restricted that the treaties were little more than expressions in favor of arbitration, but they were a step in the right direction. Under the Wilson administration a new drive for arbitration was made by Secretary of State Bryan, who urged that all disputes failing of diplomatic settlement be submitted to an international commission for investigation and report, the nations in the meantime refraining from hostilities. At least 30 of these "cooling-off treaties" went into effect.

6. Activities of the League of Nations. There can be no doubt that the effectiveness of the League of Nations was greatly limited by the refusal of the United States to become a member. Nevertheless, the League represented the most important forward step yet taken by mankind in the direction of a warless world. Its membership in the middle 1930's comprised most of the civilized nations of the world. During the first decade of the League's existence it handled and brought a settlement in nine controversies in which war was threatened or actually begun. It established machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes, made an intensive study of the methods by which disarmament might be achieved, did noble work in aid of war refugees, carried on an effective warfare against epidemic diseases, and devised means to abolish the slave trade and to limit the manufacture and distribution of injurious drugs. It aided reconstruction by saving Austria and Hungary from complete economic collapse, and helped other nations in obtaining international loans. It sponsored world economic conferences, and through its International Labor Organization sought to improve conditions of labor throughout the world. In many of these tasks the United States, although not a member, participated actively. In the early 1930's the League was a going concern and a great potential power for world peace.

As late as 1935, in fact, the League formed the center of international politics and questions of world peace were largely determined at meetings of the League. Four years later the League was utterly powerless, merely a shell of its former greatness. Its failure to take positive action in Manchuria, Ethiopia and Spain lost it the respect of weaker powers and the liberal sentiment of the world. At the same time Japan's invasion of Manchuria, Italy's invasion of Ethiopia and Germany's rearmament were so out of line with the sentiment of the majority of the League that all three nations resigned. At the opening of the Second World War only three great European powers were still members—Great Britain, France and Russia. Russia was expelled after the invasion of Finland and France resigned in 1941. Little was left of the League during the Second World War except the Labor Office and other non-political activities. Whether the League could be revived after the war and, profiting from experience, again become a force for world peace, only the future could tell.

7. The World Court. Article XIV of the Covenant of the League of Nations provided for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. Although the Court was closely associated with the work of the League, it was, in fact, separate from the League and met at the Hague.[1] Nations not members of the League might be members of the Court, and it is open to all nations on equal terms. What authority it has is based on the agreements of the nations joining it. The World Court is a court of law, rendering judgments on legal rather than political matters, and giving advisory opinions to the Assembly or Council when requested. Its jurisdiction, of course, is voluntary, as no case can be referred to it without the consent of both parties. In comparison with the League of Nations the career of the World Court has received little attention. It has, nevertheless, gone about its work quietly and effectively, meeting regularly and grinding out its judgments and advisory opinions. In the 16 years, 1922 to 1937 inclusive, the Court had before it some 60 cases.

The committee which drew up the constitution of the World Court contained the distinguished American statesman, Elihu Root; and many Americans who were opposed to our joining the League were in favor of adherence to the World Court. Among these were Presidents Harding, Coolidge and Hoover. Both the major political parties endorsed the Court in 1924. In 1923 Harding submitted to the Senate the constitution of the World Court and advised our adherence. The Senate, however, failed to reach an agreement until 1926, when it voted favorably, subject to five reservations. The fifth reservation was the most important; it insisted that the Court was not, without the consent of the United States, to "entertain any request for an advisory opinion touching any dispute or question in which the United States has or claims an interest." The other member nations of the Court were willing to accept all the reservations except that part of the fifth just quoted; and consequently the United States did not join at that time.

In 1929 the constitution of the World Court was amended to meet the objections of the United States, Elihu Root serving on the committee which revised it. The "Root formula," as it is known, provided for an exchange of views between the Council and the United States, if desired, as to whether an interest of the United States was affected before an advisory opinion was requested of the Court. If, after such exchange of views, no agreement could be reached, the United States might withdraw from membership. The agreements for adherence under the amended statutes were signed by this country in 1929, but the Senate declined to ratify. In 1935 President Roosevelt again urged the Senate to ratify the agreements, but a Senate resolution to accomplish this was defeated. The future of the World Court is by no means dependent on the future of the League. Its fate will probably be determined by the sincerity of efforts to preserve world peace at the conclusion of the Second World War.

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[1] Members of the Court are elected by the Assembly and Council of the League from a list of candidates nominated by the members of the old Permanent Court of Arbitration (Hague Court). Several American citizens have been successively elected judges—John Bassett Moore, Charles Evans Hughes, Frank B. Kellogg, and Manley O. Hudson.

THE WILL TO PEACE IS STRENGTHENED THROUGH INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

8. The Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments.

During the First World War the United States had taken the high position that the struggle was a "war to end wars." President Wilson had been the leading advocate of a League of Nations, and the vast majority of the American people were sincerely desirous of promoting peace. Our rejection of the League, consequently, put us in an embarrassing position. Furthermore, our insistence upon the "open door" in China was in direct conflict with Japanese ambitions on the Asiatic continent, and relations between this country and Japan were in an extremely delicate situation. To meet the demand of the American people that our government do its part to lessen the dangers of war, President Harding in the summer of 1921 issued an invitation to Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan for a conference at Washington to discuss limitation of armaments. At the same time an invitation was extended to Belgium, the Netherlands, Portugal and China (together with the powers first named) to discuss the problems of the Pacific and the Far East.

RESTRICTION OF CAPITAL SHIPS. On both matters much was accomplished. The five great naval nations agreed to suspend within limits the construction of capital ships[1] for ten years (termed a "naval holiday"), to scrap capital ships beyond a specified number, and to renew these capital ships on a specified ratio of 5-5-3-1⅔-1⅔. That is, the United States and Great Britain were to have 525,000 tons; Japan 315,000; France and Italy 175,000 tons. On the matter of auxiliary craft—submarines, destroyers and other small vessels—the conference could come to no agreement, although it restricted the size and number of aircraft carriers. At the time this seemed a great step forward, but ardent naval expansionists were not greatly disturbed, for many believed that the day of the great battleship was over, and the conference had placed no limit on smaller vessels.

THE FAR EAST. On the problem of the Pacific and the Far East a number of treaties were signed, which included:

1. A *four-power treaty* signed by the United States, Great Britain, Japan and France, agreeing to respect the rights of each nation as to its

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[1] The conference defined a "capital ship" as a warship of over 10,000 tons, or one carrying guns of a caliber exceeding 8 inches.

insular possessions in the Pacific, and agreeing that all controversies which could not be settled by diplomacy should be submitted to joint conferences for adjustment. This treaty was significant because it ended the old British-Japanese Alliance.[1]

2. A *nine-power treaty* guaranteeing respect for the territory and independence of China, the "open door" in China, and the extension of the "open door" to industry as well as commerce.

3. A nine-power treaty establishing the principle of China's control over her own tariff.

4. A treaty between China and Japan by which Japan agreed to turn over to China the German rights in the Shantung peninsula which she had held since the war.

9. The London Naval Conference. Within a very short time it became apparent that the Washington Conference had not solved the question of naval limitation. A race in the construction of cruisers began, and the five great powers were busy strengthening those branches not controlled by the Treaty of Washington. To widen the scope of naval limitation, President Coolidge in 1927 invited the four great powers to meet in another conference. Only Japan and Great Britain accepted, and the resulting conference at Geneva accomplished nothing.

Two years later, however, Great Britain took the initiative and invited the nations that had signed the Washington Treaty to meet at London in 1930. The London Naval Conference resulted in a three-power pact among the United States, Great Britain and Japan, which France and Italy joined in certain agreements. Its accomplishments were briefly these: (1) Great Britain agreed to accept naval equality with the United States, (2) the holiday on the building of capital ships was extended to 1936, and (3) limits within a system of ratios were set to the building of auxiliary craft.[2] Naval strategists at the time (1930) thought that this agreement would make war unlikely between the three great signing powers—the United States, Great Britain and Japan. It was believed that an attacking nation would not be able to cross the ocean with a battle fleet of a size sufficient to insure victory.

10. The Kellogg-Briand Pact (Pact of Paris). The results of the London Naval Conference were made possible not only by the Washington Conference which preceded it, but also by the fact that in 1928 the

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[1] The four-power treaty was for a period of ten years but was to continue in force thereafter, subject to the right of any of the four powers to withdraw upon giving 12 months' notice.

[2] The approximate ratio for the navies as a whole was now 10-10-7, as against the ratio of 5-5-3 for capital ships under the Washington agreement. In the matter of submarines the limit to which Great Britain, the United States and Japan might build was the same, 52,700 tons.

United States had agreed to the settlement of all disputes by peaceful means. This came about through an invitation extended to this country by Premier Aristide Briand of France for the two nations to join in an agreement "outlawing war," an agreement already entered into by the members of the League of Nations. The United States, through Secretary of State Kellogg, suggested that other nations be invited to join and sign a treaty.

As a result, 14 nations signed such a treaty; later most of the remaining nations of the world, including the Soviet Union, signed. The heart of the Kellogg-Briand Pact is in the first two articles:

> (1) The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations to one another; (2) The High Contracting Parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means.

The Kellogg-Briand Pact passed the United States Senate by a vote of 85-1. That it was taken seriously by this country is demonstrated by the fact that our government began a revision of the arbitration treaties negotiated by Root between 1908 and 1910 in order to strengthen them, and also to create the machinery for the peaceful handling of disputes as called for in the Bryan treaties (5).

Although the United States did not join the League or the World Court it played an important part in the movement for world peace. It led in the arbitration of disputes, it signed the Pact of Paris and treaties with many individual nations for peaceful arbitration. After the First World War it took a lead in the reduction of naval armaments. To many Americans at the time it seemed as if we were doing our share in promoting world peace. Whether we did or not is a matter of opinion. In any event, it appeared fruitless. As in 1914, so again in 1939, imperialist rivalries, nationalistic ambitions, racial hatreds and other causes plunged the world into armed conflict.

WE AMERICANS AS NEIGHBORS

11. Attempted Isolation. Scarcely a century and a half has passed since the 13 colonies broke the political bonds which joined them with Great Britain and commenced their career as an independent nation. Sparsely populated and loosely united, this confederation of 13 states has grown in a brief period into a mighty nation playing a leading rôle in world affairs. This amazing development has been due primarily to the richness of our natural resources, but we must also count among our blessings our geographical position. Far removed as we were from the Old World, the Fathers of the Republic believed that it was possible to avoid entangling ourselves in the turmoils of Europe, and that the future safety and prosperity of the nation were dependent upon that policy.

But even in those days the world was too small to work out our destiny uninfluenced by the problems of Europe. Our very independence had been made possible by the help of France, and the new nation had scarcely started on its career before it was profoundly affected by European conditions. The wars of Europe brought great prosperity to the young nation and thus helped to make popular the new federal government, but they also involved us in long controversies regarding the rights of a neutral and finally in a second war with Great Britain. In the period of ardent nationalism and growing confidence which followed the War of 1812 we insisted in the Monroe Doctrine that other newly born nations on the American continents have the same right to work out their own destinies.

12. Territorial Growth. As population increased and expanded westward, the interests of the young nation came into conflict with those nations of Europe whose colonial territory surrounded the United States on the north, west and south. By arbitration, by discovery, by settlement, by purchase and by war the boundaries of the Republic were extended until by the time of the War between the States we attained the region of the present continental United States. From the Pinckney Treaty in 1795 until the purchase in 1819, the pressure upon Spain for the surrender of Florida was almost continuous. Before Florida had been annexed, however, the purchase of Louisiana had been made and the territory of the nation approximately doubled.

By a series of arbitrations and treaties which extended from the Treaty of Paris in 1783 to the settlement of the Oregon boundary in 1846, the long controversies with Great Britain over the northern boundary line had been brought to an end. By this time the independent Republic of Texas had joined the United States, and many felt that "manifest destiny" could be fulfilled only if the great Southwest, now a part of Mexican territory, was also annexed. A war with Mexico accomplished this. Agricultural imperialism was not yet satisfied, for southern plantation owners looked longingly toward Cuba, but further acquisitions were to wait until the conflict over slavery and state's rights had been fought and until the time when expansion was to be dominated by industrial rather than by agricultural interests.

13. A World Power. By the opening of the twentieth century the United States had become a world power. This was true in the first place because she had stepped beyond her own territory and had acquired colonies and protectorates. Alaska had been purchased in 1867 and Hawaii was preparing for annexation. With the Spanish-American War came the Philippines, Guam and Puerto Rico, and before many years the Canal Zone and the Virgin Islands. Quite as important was the economic and political domination exercised over nominally independent nations—Cuba, Haiti, Santo Domingo, Nicaragua and Panama, American protectorates created in a Caribbean sphere of influence. Just like the nations of western Europe, the United States had reached a stage in which she found herself attempting to solve not only her own destiny but that of alien peoples in remote regions.

In another important aspect America has become a world power. As the United States has become industrialized, her manufactured products have sought world markets and she has assumed an important position in world trade. Manufacturing has brought surplus wealth which has been loaned abroad until the United States has become the leading creditor nation of the world. There are few regions where her exporters of goods and capital have not gone and where her economic interests are not at stake. In population, in wealth and in naval strength our country has taken a leading position among the great nations.

As the United States was moving rapidly toward a position of international power, the First World War broke out. After some hesitation she plunged into this conflict, and thus made her greatest departure from her old policy of aloofness and isolation. Old policies and old ideas, however, proved too strong, and with the end of the war she refused to join the League of Nations and withdrew as far as she could from active participation in European affairs. With the Second World War came another change. The decision to give aid to the fighting democracies again plunged the United States into the problems and rivalries of Europe. The Japanese attack upon this country in 1941 finally, however, brought us into the Second World War. How far this country will go in taking part in the solution of world problems at the close of this war remains, as it did two decades ago, a leading question for our statesmen and our citizens.

Can You Use These Terms?

A. Underscore the phrases or expressions that correctly complete the following statements. There may be more than one correct response to a statement.

1. "Self-determination" as used in President Woodrow Wilson's famous Fourteen Points meant that: (a) national minority groups should have

the right to decide for themselves what nation was to govern them; (b) peoples who had been conquered by more powerful nations should have an opportunity to obtain just government; (c) there might be considerable changing of old national boundaries.

2. The so-called "khaki elections" in England: (a) took place during the midst of the First World War when British troops on the western front voted; (b) occurred shortly after the close of the First World War; (c) strongly influenced England's attitude at the Paris Peace Conference.
3. Reparations were payments: (a) of war debts owed to the United States by the Allies; (b) that Germany was to pay the Allies for the damage she had done; (c) that inevitably involved the settlement of the Allied war debt.
4. "Cooling-off" treaties: (a) provide for arbitration of international disputes; (b) grew in number during the latter 1800's and earlier 1900's; (c) must be made before nations can refer international problems to the Hague Court.

Do You Know the Facts?

B. *Match the following items in the right-hand column with the proper choices in the left-hand column. To do this insert the number or numbers of choices in the parentheses in front of the proper item or items.*

CHOICES	ITEMS
1. Italy's representative at the Paris Peace Conference	a. ( ) Woodrow Wilson
2. Represented England at the Paris Peace Conference	b. ( ) Senator Lodge
3. Donated building to house the Hague Court	c. ( ) Clemenceau
4. With Briand of France he drew up an international agreement outlawing war	d. ( ) Lloyd George
5. His fourteenth point called for the League of Nations	e. ( ) Orlando
6. Represented France at the Paris Peace Conference	f. ( ) Andrew Carnegie
7. Led the campaign to reject the Versailles Treaty	g. ( ) Elihu Root
8. Established the World Peace Foundation	h. ( ) Frank B. Kellogg
9. Helped draw up the constitution of the World Court	i. ( ) Edward Ginn

Can You Use What You Have Learned?

C. Below are summaries of President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points and the Roosevelt-Churchill Atlantic Charter drawn up before our entrance in the Second World War. Compare these summaries carefully before doing exercise D which follows.

THE FOURTEEN POINTS

1. End of secret treaties between nations
2. Freedom of the seas in peace or war
3. End of trade restrictions such as tariffs
4. Reduction of armaments by all nations
5. Fair distribution of colonies
6. Withdrawal of German troops from Russia
7. Restoration of Belgium
8. Restoration of France and return to her of Alsace-Lorraine
9. Establishment of Italy's frontier according to nationality of the people on the frontier
10. Independent development for the people of Austria-Hungary
11. Reconstruction of the Balkan states along racial lines and a seaport for Serbia
12. Self-determination for the mixed peoples of the Turkish Empire
13. Independence and a seaport for Poland
14. Establishment of an association of nations

THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

a. Neither England nor the United State seeks additional territory.
b. Territorial changes should be made only on the basis of self-determination.
c. All peoples should be allowed to choose the form of government under which they will live.
d. All nations should be enabled to have "access, on equal terms, to the trade and raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity."
e. There should be world-wide coöperation to improve "labor standards, economic adjustment and social security."
f. After the "final destruction of . . . tyranny . . . assurance that all men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want."
g. There must be freedom of the seas.
h. There should be "abandonment of the use of force" by all nations, "establishment of a . . . permanent system of general security," disarming of agressor nations, reduction of armaments.

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D. Some of the following statements are true about the documents summarized above, some are false. Others are opinions. If the statement is true, circle the *letter* **T**, *or the letter* **F** *if it is false. If it is an opinion, circle the letter* **O**. *Circle the letters* **NI**, *as well, if there is not sufficient information in this chapter for you to say whether the opinion is valid.*

1. **T F O NI** The statements of the Fourteen Points tend to be more definite concerning boundary changes than those of the Atlantic Charter.
2. **T F O NI** The Atlantic Charter says that all peoples must establish democracies.
3. **T F O NI** Native peoples in colonies anywhere in the world, according to the Atlantic Charter, should be allowed to establish their independence if they so desire.
4. **T F O NI** The Atlantic Charter does not state definitely that the League should be continued although it calls for some type of international organization.
5. **T F O NI** Freedom for international trade was one of the Fourteen Points and is advocated in the Atlantic Charter.
6. **T F O NI** One of the Fourteen Points called for freedom of the seas but the Atlantic Charter does not raise this element.

E. Some of the following statements are true, some are false. Others are opinions. If the statement is true, circle the letter **T**, *or the letter* **F** *if it is false. If it is an opinion, circle the letter* **O**. *Circle the letters* **NI**, *as well, if there is not sufficient information in this chapter for you to say whether the opinion is valid.*

1. **T F O NI** The League of Nations has established the International Labor Office which has been operating for many years.
2. **T F O NI** President Wilson felt that his fourteenth point was the most important and he sacrificed others to obtain its acceptance by the Peace Conference.
3. **T F O NI** The Republican party gained control of the Senate in the 1918 elections and refused to approve Wilson's plan for a League of Nations.
4. **T F O NI** Isolationist sentiment, fear that the League would be controlled by the British Empire, and demands for punishment of Germany combined to bring about rejection of the Versailles Treaty by the Senate.
5. **T F O NI** The effectiveness of the League of Nations was greatly weakened by our failure to join it.
6. **T F O NI** Had we joined the League it is likely that the Second World War would never have started.

7. **T F O NI** Despite its failure to establish lasting peace, the League of Nations accomplished many worthwhile things.

8. **T F O NI** The United States did not join the World Court although every American President since Wilson has urged us to do so.

9. **T F O NI** We made a mistake by agreeing to limit the number of our first class battleships at the Washington Disarmament Conference in 1922.

10. **T F O NI** Japan violated the Nine Power Treaty guaranteeing China's independence.

11. **T F O NI** The Kellogg-Briand Pact of Paris proved to be futile as a means of preventing war.

12. **T F O NI** Wilson's dream of a League of Nations is bound to fail in a realistic world.

Summarizing Exercise

F. Underscore each of the following items which the United States agreed to officially by approval of the United States Senate.

1. Membership in the World Court; 2. The Fourteen Points; 3. Membership in the League of Nations; 4. 30 "cooling-off treaties"; 5. the "Root formulæ"; 6. the 5-5-3 ratio for capital ships; 7. the Kellogg-Briand Pact of Paris; 8. treaty to maintain colonial possessions in the Pacific as they stood in 1922; 9. treaty guaranteeing China's independence.

Class or Correspondence Assignments

G. See general instructions under this heading, p. vi.

1. Compare the Fourteen Points and the Atlantic Charter with respect to: (a) purpose; (b) likenesses and differences.
2. Discuss reasons why the United States did not ratify the Versailles Treaty touching upon: (a) isolationist sentiment; (b) the League of Nations; (c) belief that the Treaty was unjust.
3. Give an account of the development of the world peace movement in the United States including: (a) discussion of private individuals and organizations; (b) international conferences and agreements to which the United States was a party.

Suggested Readings

Textbooks:

For good general readings concerning the United States and the peace movements of the years following the First World War try: J. T. Adams, *The Epic of America,* pp. 386-393; J. S. Bassett, *A Short History of the United States,* pp. 903-909, 917-19, 923-25, 933-41; C. A. Beard and M. R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization,* II, pp. 625-31, 654-62; H. U. Faulkner, *American Political and Social History,* pp. 623-26. More complete details are in: F. L. Allen, *Only Yesterday,* chap. ii; C. Seymour, *Woodrow Wilson and the World War,* chaps. xiii-xiv, for discussion of the Versailles Treaty by the United States Senate. For an account of the United States in world affairs, consult R. M. Keohane, M. P. Keohane and J. D. McGoldrick, *American Government,* Course Three, Part 2, *Rights and Duties of Citizenship,* chaps. 3, 4, 5, EM-216. See C. Becker, *The History of Modern Europe, Imperialism and World Conflict,* chap. iv, EM-206, for a discussion of the Versailles Treaty.

CHAPTER XI

Responsibilities of World Leadership

INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS ARE PRIMARILY ECONOMIC

1. **The Interdependency of Modern Economic Life.** "The tragedy of our times," said a French journalist, "is that we are citizens of the world, and do not know it." There may have been a time when nations were relatively self-sufficient, but those days are passed. Even the United States, which comes as near being supplied with all the raw materials necessary for life as any nation on earth, must import many which either are not produced here or are obtainable only in insufficient quantities.[1] Imports into the United States amounted at their high point in 1929 to more than $4,000,000,000 and exports to slightly over $5,000,000,000.[2] Of these exports almost half consisted of finished manufactured goods. How important our foreign trade is to our economic well-being can be seen by the following figures:

RATIO OF EXPORTS TO PRODUCTION OF IMPORTANT COMMODITIES, 1929 AND 1937
Per Cent Exported

Commodity	1929	1937	Commodity	1929	1937
Cotton	49.2	43.7	Business machinery	29.8	22.2
Tobacco	41.2	36.1	Printing machinery	29.4	18.2
Copper	36.4	32.7	Agricultural machinery	23.2	14.5
Kerosene	35.4	13.3	Wheat	17.9	3.4
Lard	33.3	17.4	Gasoline	13.8	6.1
Lubricating oil	31.0	30.9	Automobiles	10.1	10.1

How interdependent is our modern life may be seen from the fact that our automobile industry uses imported materials from 18 countries, the shoe industry from 27 countries, the electrical industry from 20, the bakery and confectionery industry from 28, and the furniture industry from 25. Although the United States is well supplied with iron ore, there are certain other essentials to the steel industry—manganese, tin, tungsten, vanadium, chrome and nickel—which we import in whole or in part. Their importance in national defense makes only too clear the importance of international trade.

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[1] The most important in value in 1929 were: raw silk, coffee, rubber, sugar, copper, newsprint, petroleum and its products, hides, furs, paper base stocks and vegetable oils. The imports of each of these ran over $100,000,000. The imports of tin, wool, fruits and nuts, art works, wool manufactures, burlaps, fertilizers and cotton manufactures amounted to over $50,000,000 for each in that year.

[2] Compare these figures of foreign trade with those of later years (2).

At least three things are evident from any study of foreign commerce: (1) the interdependency of modern economic life makes a certain amount of foreign trade absolutely necessary; (2) in the long run and over a period of time imports and exports tend to balance; and (3) active foreign commerce is essential to economic prosperity. The more we sell abroad, the more prosperous we become; but we cannot sell without also buying. Without reasonably free trade between nations there is danger of isolation and economic stagnation. A fourth important point should also be remembered—international trade, if it is to be most useful and profitable, must be relatively free. There must be an equal opportunity for all to trade anywhere.

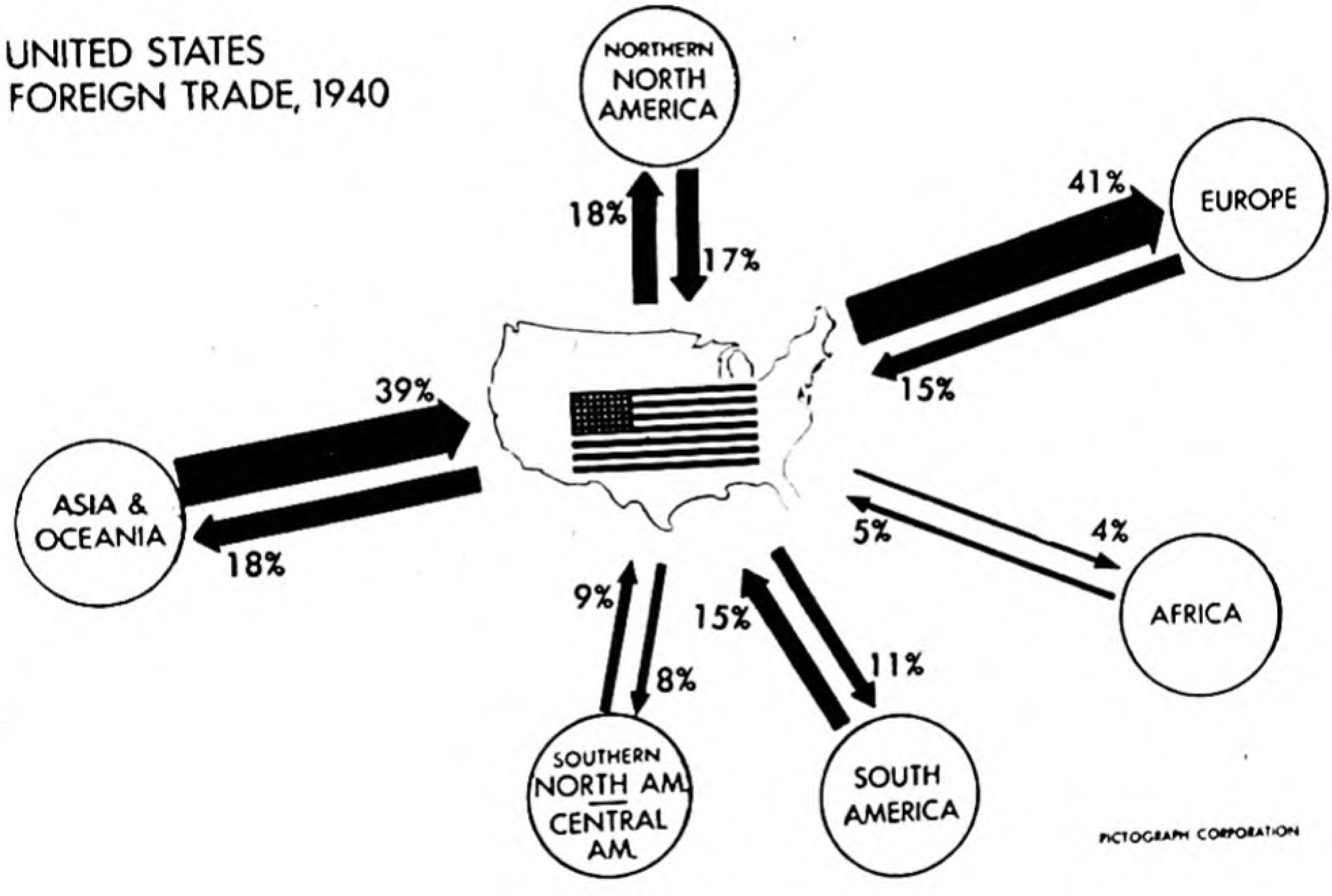

FIG. 18

The figures show the percentages of our total exports and imports to and from each of the six areas.

2. Importance of the Tariff. The problems of the tariff clearly affect national and world prosperity. Nations erect tariff barriers for two reasons, revenue and protection. Too high a tariff may give protection but cut down revenue, and thus it may have the effect of preventing prosperity rather than promoting it. Since most nations seem interested in retaining some form of protection, the problem is one of determining the tariff level which will best recognize the interdependency of modern life and best promote prosperity. The decade of the 1920's was an era of high tariffs. Although this tended to restrict the normal flow of commerce, foreign trade, nevertheless, was large. With the Great Depression the situation rapidly changed. The following figures tell in dramatic fashion what the depression did to American foreign trade:

YEAR	IMPORTS	EXPORTS
1929	$4,399,000,000	$5,157,000,000
1932	1,323,000,000	1,576,000,000
1935	2,047,485,000	2,243,000,000

RECIPROCAL TARIFFS. The Roosevelt administration was thoroughly alive to the seriousness of the decline in foreign trade and to the necessity of tariff revision. Tariffs, however, are so full of political dynamite that most politicians prefer to avoid the issue. But the Democrats had denounced the Hawley-Smoot Act with so much bitterness that some action on the tariff could hardly be avoided. Nevertheless, the Roosevelt administration made no effort to effect a thoroughgoing revision of the Hawley-Smoot Act. Instead, under the Trade Agreements Act (1934), Congress granted to the Executive for a three-year period the power to negotiate trade agreements with foreign governments *without* the advice and consent of the Senate. This included the power to raise or lower tariff rates by not more than 50 per cent. When the first Trade Agreements Act ran out in 1937 it was renewed for another three years, and the same action was again taken in 1940. In 1943 it was renewed again, but this time for only two years.

Secretary of State Hull was firmly convinced that such reciprocal treaties would promote not only economic recovery but world peace. Under his leadership 22 such treaties were signed by the end of 1941 and negotiations were pending for others. Although most of the treaties were with nations with whom our trade was not large, taken as a whole they included countries representing about one-third of our foreign trade. Because of the large trade between the two countries, probably the most important of these treaties was with Canada. The first trade agreement with Canada, for example, granted us tariff reductions on 180 commodities and granted the lowest rate for any country outside the British Empire on 767 items. The United States on her part made large concessions particularly on agricultural products and lumber.

It is almost impossible in such treaties not to injure some interests, but the signing nations hoped that the long-term effect would be beneficial. There was natural criticism of the reciprocal treaties during the campaign of 1936. Answering this criticism, the administration pointed to the improvement in foreign trade. It emphasized also the greater fairness which it believed had been achieved by temporarily putting the tariff schedules in the hands of State Department experts rather than leaving them at the mercy of congressional lobbies. Finally, the administration contended that the treaties were influential in reversing the world-wide tendency that in the previous 15 years had pushed tariff walls higher and higher.

It should be noted that trade-agreement terms with any given nation applied also to the 27 nations with which the United States had "most-favored-nation" agreements. In other words, concessions to one nation would automatically carry similar concessions on like products to all 27 nations. Many, including Secretary Hull, believed that the trade-agreement treaties would also be an important influence in promoting peace in a world strained to a breaking point. In this hope they were disappointed. Nevertheless the trade agreements paved the way for easier trade relations which most economists believed would have to be an essential part of the post-war world.

3. **America's Far-Flung Investments.** The fact that American foreign commerce had increased fourfold between 1900 and 1929 was not the only influence tending to break down economic isolation and make the well-being of the United States more than ever dependent on the rest of the world. How we quickly shifted during the First World War from a debtor to a creditor nation has already been pointed out (*IX, 2*). This tendency went on during the post-war years as Europe called on the United States for credit to finance her economic reconstruction. By January, 1932, American private investments abroad were estimated at almost $18,000,000,000, whereas 18 years earlier the grand total was but $2,625,000,000 (*X, 13*). In addition to this huge accumulation of private debts were the various war debts owed by European nations to the American government, amounting in 1932 to over $11,000,000,000. If the debts owed to American citizens are combined with the war debts, we find that the United States in the early 'thirties was the most important creditor nation in the world. She had achieved this position in little more than a decade.

Two influences were chiefly responsible for this migration of $18,000,000,000 to other parts of the world. The first was the search for higher interest rates; the second was the hunt for greater markets. About half of this money went into "direct investments" made by American corporations in agricultural, industrial, commercial, mining, public utility and other enterprises abroad. Most of the big American concerns, such as the Ford Motor Company, General Motors, General Electric, Standard Oil, International Telephone and Telegraph and International Harvester, set up their own plants or bought control of plants abroad. Of the many factors leading to the establishment of branch factories abroad probably none was more important than the high tariff systems of the 'twenties. When American capitalists found it impossible to break through the tariff barriers, they set up branch factories abroad to serve foreign markets. Every traveler in Canada, for example, notices there the numerous branches of American concerns which represent more than $2,000,000,000 of American investments.

Influence of Foreign Investments. The effects of this migration of capital were bound to be far-reaching. In the first place, it increased our concern in the economic prosperity and political stability of the rest of the world, a concern which sometimes led, as it frequently has in the Caribbean countries (Chapter VIII), to actual military interference. In the second place, it was bound to have important effects upon American industry, commerce and labor. It is clear that if duplicate factories are set up in other parts of the world, the markets for American-made products are restricted. Commerce declines and the demand for labor falls. The investor may at first be quite indifferent as to the part of the world from which his income is obtained, but the day of reckoning eventually comes. The far-reaching effects of the curtailment of the markets for American-made goods catch up with him. In case of war he may lose his entire investment and may sometimes see his factories used to promote the interests of an enemy country. In any event, the whole problem of economic imperialism is one of the most significant which this nation must face.

4. The Problem of Debts and Reparations. One of the most perplexing problems confronting America since 1918 has been the question of war debts and reparations. As a result of the First World War, the United States government lent the Allied nations over $10,300,000,000, two-thirds of which was lent before the Armistice, chiefly for the purchase of war supplies, and one-third after the Armistice, for the purchase of surplus stocks of war material and relief supplies, and for other purposes. When the United States entered the First World War, the credit of the Allies was about exhausted and these loans were necessary to win the war. They were, however, supposedly made in good faith, with the expectation that they would be paid back. When it became clear that many of the debts had reached staggering proportions, the United States in 1922 set up the machinery of a World War Foreign Debt Commission to take up with each nation the question of refunding. During the next few years refunding arrangements were made with 15 of the 20 debtor nations by which the debts were greatly reduced on the basis of ability to pay.

Even so the debtor nations found it difficult to meet their obligations. This was in part due to the fact that American debts were to some extent paid from the receipts of German reparations. The original amount set for German reparations was $33,000,000,000, but this seemed more than she could pay. Twice during the decade Germany defaulted and the reparations were scaled down by commissions headed by Americans, the first time in 1924 under the "Dawes Plan" and the second in 1929 under the "Young Plan." When Germany again defaulted in 1931, Hoover, to avoid a world economic collapse, secured an agreement for a one year's suspension of intergovernmental debts and reparations payments. When the year was up, certain nations, of which France was the most important, announced their unwillingness to resume payments. In the end only Finland continued payments on her debt.

AMERICAN ATTITUDE ON WAR DEBTS. The refusal of many European nations to resume payments in 1932 was bitterly resented by many Americans. It was felt here that the war debts were just, and that nations which could spend billions in armaments could also meet their international obligations. There were others, however, who felt that the debts should be counted as part of our contribution to the First World War and that the money was not worth the harvest of hate and suffering being reaped. Others believed with Secretary Mellon that "the entire foreign debt is not worth as much to the United States in dollars and cents as a prosperous Europe as a customer." The chief effect of the war debt controversy in this country was to strengthen isolationist sentiment. This was reflected in the Debt Default Act (Johnson Act of 1934) which made it unlawful for any person or organization in the United States to make loans to any foreign government which had failed in its debt payments to the United States.

AMERICA FACES AN EVER CHANGING POLITICAL WORLD

5. Complexities of Imperial Control. Throughout these six chapters an effort has been made to describe the position of America among the nations. Two influences, it is evident, had profoundly affected the position of the United States since the pre-machine days when Washington and his successors had preached a policy of "splendid isolation." In the first place, with the Spanish-American War we had thrown aside any policy of limiting our activities to the American continent, and by acquiring colonies had embarked on the path of imperialism. By 1930 the development of the machine age had driven us toward economic imperialism, as our manufacturers sought raw materials for their factories and markets for their finished products, and as capitalists sought opportunities to invest surplus capital. In other words, by 1930 it was quite clear that economic imperialism was of greater significance than political imperialism. Economic imperialism had led to the establishment of protectorates over five countries and to heavy investments in every continent on the globe. These investments abroad had put this nation in a position where it was closely affected by the economic, social and political conditions in the rest of the world. It had become increasingly difficult to play a lone hand.

Economic Imperialism and the Future. Of all the influences which promote war, none is more important than the economic rivalry for markets and raw materials. Furthermore, borrowers are in the end likely to be resentful rather than grateful, as is seen in the European attitude toward the war debts. In short, economic imperialism often breeds international hate. It also tends toward increased rivalry as the less advanced nations gradually set up their own productive units and cease to buy from the outside. Economic imperialism in the long run tends to put some nations in a position where they draw increasing wealth from other countries, in the form of interest on money loaned and dividends on money invested abroad. What may happen in such a situation can be seen by the declining industry and commerce of Great Britain as her own investors have set up competing industries in other countries. The machine age so far has made international problems more complex, but it is possible that greater international coöperation may iron out some of these perplexing problems.

6. The Philippines—A Commonwealth. At least one nation, the United States, was coming to realize that the rosy dreams of the economic imperialists often failed to materialize. The Philippine Islands, to use an outstanding example, had never been much more than a burden to this country. As a stepping stone to Oriental trade and as a field for American investments, the Islands had been of little importance. At the same time they had been a continuous expense to the people of the United States. The continuous demand of the Filipinos for independence and the attitude of the Democratic party in the United States complicated the situation further. The majority of Democratic Senators had opposed annexation in 1899 and in subsequent years their party had promised freedom to the Islands.

Interestingly enough, it was not the promises of the Democrats or the agitation of the Filipinos which eventually changed the status of the Islands from a colony to that of a protectorate. The deciding factor was the opposition of American farmers to the competition of Philippine agricultural commodities—sugar, tobacco and cocoanut oil. This opposition became so strong in 1933 that the agricultural "bloc" in conjunction with anti-imperialist Democrats passed a bill (over the veto of President Hoover) to establish a protectorate, but the Philippine legislature turned it down.

The problem was taken up again during the Roosevelt administration in the Philippine Independence Act (1934). This legislation, accepted by the Filipinos in 1935, granted independence after a ten-year transitional or "protectorate" period. During this period there were to be a Filipino president and an American high commissioner. United States army and naval forces were to remain; both American and Philippine products, with some exceptions, were to be free of duties; and an annual quota of 50 immigrants to the United States was allowed. The President of the United States retained financial control over the Islands and the right to intervene to preserve the government of the Commonwealth. After independence the regular tariff duties were to prevail; immigration to this country was to be on the same basis as that of any foreign nation; and the President of the United States was authorized to negotiate foreign treaties providing for "perpetual neutralization" of the Philippines. Under this act the Filipinos might obtain independence, but the cost would be high. During the 1930's close to 90 per cent of Philippine exports were sent to the United States. After independence this market would be largely closed by high American tariffs.

When the Second World War spread to the Pacific and Japan invaded the Philippines, it became evident that the future of those Islands depended on the result of the war. Only by the defeat of Japan could the Filipinos expect to be a free and independent nation. Late in 1943, however, despite the fact that the Islands were occupied by Japanese forces, Congress passed a law recognizing the Philippine Commonwealth as "a separate and self-governing nation."

7. The "Good Neighbor" Policy. The return to a policy of isolation which followed the close of the First World War soon broke down. In its place has come a willingness to coöperate with other nations and to retreat from that type of economic imperialism so evident in the first 15 years of the century. American foreign investments had reached too large a figure and were scattered too widely either to ignore or to attempt to protect by force. Furthermore our experiences in Latin America had taught us valuable lessons. The "Roosevelt Corollary" of the

Monroe Doctrine (*VI, 9*), which made the United States the policeman of Latin America, had proved impracticable and supervision had become impossible, because too many Latin-American nations had defaulted their financial obligations in the post-war years and had fallen prey to revolutions.

Likewise it was gradually dawning upon the American people that trade could best be obtained by promoting friendly relations instead of attempting its development at the point of a gun. American business men decided that the key to Latin-American markets was the building of a spirit of good will among our southern neighbors. Finally, the American people were coming to realize that colonies and dependencies were more likely to be a source of trouble than of financial gain.

The result of this realization was a retreat from the position assumed in the early years of the century. The outstanding example of this change of policy, perhaps, was in the change of status of the Philippine Islands, but it can be seen clearly throughout these years in our relations with Latin America. The climax of American economic imperialism in Latin America was undoubtedly reached in the capture of Vera Cruz (1914), the military occupation of Haiti (beginning, 1914), Pershing's invasion of Mexico (1916), and the acquisition of the Virgin Islands (1917). Since then there has been a steady retreat. Among the most important examples of this should be noted the end, in 1924, of the military dictatorship of Santo Domingo by the American marines, a dictatorship which had been imposed back in 1916. The marines, stationed in Nicaragua since 1912, with the exception of a brief period in 1925, were withdrawn in 1933. In a similar manner the military occupation of Haiti, which had been continuous since 1915, was concluded in 1934.

NON-INTERVENTION IN LATIN AMERICA. The end of the military occupation of Nicaragua, Haiti and Santo Domingo did not entirely end American control. Santo Domingo, for example, agreed that the existing bond issues were binding obligations, that the treaty of 1907 should remain in force until the bonds were paid, and that a general receiver of customs should remain during this period. In a similar manner Haiti agreed to submit to a limited control of her finances until the outstanding bond issues matured in 1942 and 1943. Arrangements of a like character continued in Nicaragua, where an American collector of customs and a high commissioner controlled by the United States remained to handle financial matters and protect foreign bond holders. But even with these qualifications, the actions of the United States government must be interpreted as a real change of policy.

The course of action pursued during the late 1920's was continued more enthusiastically and persistently by Franklin D. Roosevelt. It was

Roosevelt, indeed, who gave to it a name when he early announced that his own foreign policy would be that of the "good neighbor." Shortly after, he stated this even more specifically when he declared that the "definite policy of the United States from now on is one opposed to armed intervention." This he supplemented by a clear declaration at the Seventh Pan-American Conference at Montevideo (1933) against "the intervention of any state of the American continent in the internal affairs of another state." That these were not mere words had already been demonstrated by the refusal of the administration to accept military intervention in Cuba during the 1933 revolution against the tyrannical rule of the hated Machado. It was soon to be demonstrated again by the signing in 1934 of a treaty with Cuba ending the famous Platt Amendment which had reduced Cuba to a protectorate of the United States.[1] It is true that the end of the Platt Amendment did not change the economic domination of Cuba by American interests,[2] but taken in connection with a reciprocal trade agreement signed the same year, which was of great benefit to Cuba, it amply illustrated the desire of the United States for better relations.

A PROGRAM FOR INTER-AMERICAN PEACE. In addition to the administration's willingness to repudiate the "Roosevelt Corollary," to cancel the Platt Amendment and to sign trade agreement treaties, one should note the enthusiastic coöperation of the United States government in the Pan-American conferences. At the Seventh Pan-American Conference at Montevideo in 1933, the machinery for the maintenance of peace on the two American continents was strengthened and a general agreement for the reduction of trade barriers was reached, in addition to the previously mentioned declaration against intervention by one state in the internal affairs of another. In all of this no one contributed more enthusiastically than Secretary of State Hull. President Roosevelt himself initiated in 1936 the Inter-American Conference to consider ways and means of forwarding "the cause of permanent peace on this western hemisphere," and appeared before it at Buenos Aires to urge his project in the opening speech.

When the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace closed its sessions, the belief was widespread that it had made important contributions to world peace. Specifically it voted two instruments for the organization of peace: (1) a pact which required consultation whenever the peace of the continent is threatened, and (2) an agreement which provided for joint action in the event of a breach of peace between any two or more of the signing states. At the suggestion of the American delegation, resolutions and recommendations were adopted pledging the American states to make every effort to put into effect a general commercial policy of equality of economic treatment and to abolish as soon as possible all discriminating practices. It was also agreed to follow a policy of removing obstacles to international trade through bilateral (two-state) and unilateral (one-state) action. Similar policies and sentiments were endorsed at the Eighth Pan-American Conference at Lima in 1938. Here the United States officially annulled the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. At the same time Secretary Hull asserted that greater Pan-American coöperation did not mean continental isolation. It was hoped that these policies would lay a solid foundation for improved relations between the United States and the Latin-American nations.

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[1] The United States retained her naval base at Guantánamo on the southeastern coast of Cuba.

[2] A similar treaty to remove Panama from the status of a protectorate was signed in 1936 and ratified in 1939.

8. Relations with Europe in a Rapidly Changing Decade. Certain efforts were made during the first Roosevelt administration to improve American relations with Europe. It is true that Europe resented the refusal of this country at the London Economic Conference of 1933 to discuss the question of war debts or to coöperate in a policy of international currency stabilization. There were also many who believed that the rejection by the Senate in 1935 of American participation in the World Court would injure our relations with Europe. Despite a decade and a half of unceasing effort, the backing of every President from Wilson to Roosevelt and a favorable report from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the administration forces lost their battle for American adherence to the World Court by a vote of 52 to 36, seven less than the required two-thirds vote.

On the other hand real progress toward better relations was made in easing the economic tension through reciprocal trade agreements. Up to the end of 1939 trade agreements were signed and operative with eight European nations—Belgium, Sweden, the Netherlands (including colonies), Switzerland, France (including colonies and dependencies), Finland, Czechoslovakia[1] and Great Britain. Another move toward better European relations was the reversal of our official policy toward Russia. After the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, the United States withdrew recognition of the Russian government. Under certain conditions official relations were restored in 1933. One condition was that Russia should refrain from propaganda which would disturb the internal affairs of the United States.

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[1] Rates of duty under this agreement were ended by presidential proclamation in April, 1939.

EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS. Unfortunately the efforts to promote better relations with Europe were doomed, at least for the time being, to failure. The reason was the chaotic situation in Europe which finally led to the Second World War. The First World War, it will be remembered, brought a wave of liberal revolutions. These began with a revolt in Russia in 1917 against the Czarist régime. With the defeat of the Central Powers in the next year, revolutions brought republics in Germany, Turkey, Austria and other new states created after the war. Before long, however, there came a reaction. A new crop of revolutions established dictatorships not alone in many of the republics which had emerged from the First World War, but in liberal monarchies such as Spain and Italy. Economic depression and fear of communism had been the chief causes of this reaction. The most important result perhaps was the establishment of the Fascist dictatorship in Italy.

Signs were not lacking in the late 'twenties of a return to political and economic stabilization when the depression of 1929 started a new wave of revolutions. Some were in the form of democratic uprisings, as in Spain, where the monarchy was overthrown, while others brought conservative dictatorships, such as that of Hitler in Germany. The establishment of these conservative or "Fascist" dictatorships was followed by rearmament, by war, or threats of war. Examples of this were the Italian adventure in Ethiopia in 1935 and the Fascist revolution in Spain in 1936 supported by Italy and Germany.

9. The Issue of Neutrality. During these years of European unrest, Americans adopted a policy of non-intervention. The belief was strong that we should not become involved in the rapidly changing European situation. A Senate investigation of the munitions industry convinced many that propaganda, economic interests, and travel by Americans on belligerent ships had led this country unwillingly into the First World War.

In the belief that we should maintain a policy of neutrality in both the civil and international conflicts of Europe, Congress passed a series of Neutrality Acts between 1935 and 1937. Based on our experiences of 1917 these acts sought to avoid the causes which led to our entrance in the First World War. The act of 1937 required all persons engaged in the manufacture of munitions to register with the Secretary of State and to export only under a license. Should the President proclaim the existence of a state of war (civil or international) it was made unlawful to export arms, munitions or implements of war to belligerent states or to neutral states for transshipment to, or use of, a belligerent country. Should a state of war be proclaimed, it was made unlawful to purchase, sell or exchange bonds, securities or other obligations of a government at war, issued after the date of proclamation, or to extend credit to any such government. The President might make exceptions for ordinary commercial credits. American vessels were to be forbidden to carry arms to belligerents and American citizens were to be warned that they might travel on belligerent vessels only at their own risk. The President also had the power (limited to two years) to embargo other commodities than loans and munitions of war—industrial products, raw materials, foodstuffs. Should such an embargo be proclaimed, trade in these commodities must be on the "cash and carry" principle. That is, they must be paid for on the spot and transported in foreign ships.

Americans who supported the Neutrality Acts believed that they would help to keep this country out of another world war. The Neutrality Acts meant, however, sacrifice of the policy of "freedom of the seas" which we had upheld for almost 150 years. Whether this country was really prepared to abandon a principle for which we had fought in the Napoleonic Wars and in the First World War, was a question which only the strain of another European war could answer.

AMERICA CHANGES FROM ISOLATION TO INTERVENTION

10. The Second World War. Despite all efforts made by this country to promote world peace, the situation grew darker as Roosevelt entered his second term. Although it was generally known that Germany under Hitler was devoting her chief energy and resources to military preparation, Americans were shocked and concerned as Germany coolly annexed Austria in March, 1938. They were also concerned when Germany, in September, 1938, with the assent of England and France, took over the Sudetenland, the German inhabited section of Czechoslovakia. The next year Germany occupied the rest of Czechoslovakia and forced the Lithuanians to give up Memel. The amazement in America at this rapid turn of events was as nothing to that created by the signing on August 23, 1939, of a non-aggression pact between Russia and Germany, nations which the world had supposed differed radically in their political, economic and social ideals. The immediate effect of the German-Russian treaty was the freeing of Germany from fear of an attack by Russia. Germany invaded Poland on September 1, and was joined by Russia, September 17. Poland was soon crushed and divided between the invaders. Russia soon after ended the independence of the small nations of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, facing the Baltic Sea. Two days after the invasion of Poland, Great Britain and France declared war on Germany.

The war was inactive during the winter of 1939-40 except for an attack by Russia on Finland, ending in defeat for Finland. The situation changed quickly, however, when Germany invaded Denmark in April, 1940, conquered Norway and then ruthlessly crushed Holland, Belgium and France. As in the case of Poland, the invasions of Denmark, Norway, Belgium and Holland were unprovoked and in most cases in violation of solemn treaties. Italy, on June 10, 1940, entered the war on the side of Germany, and four months later declared war on Greece. Unable to conquer Greece alone, Italy was forced to seek the aid of Germany. In the spring of 1941 the German troops overran Bulgaria and crushed Yugoslavia and Greece. In June of that year the war took a sudden turn when Germany repudiated her alliance with Russia and declared war on her eastern neighbor.

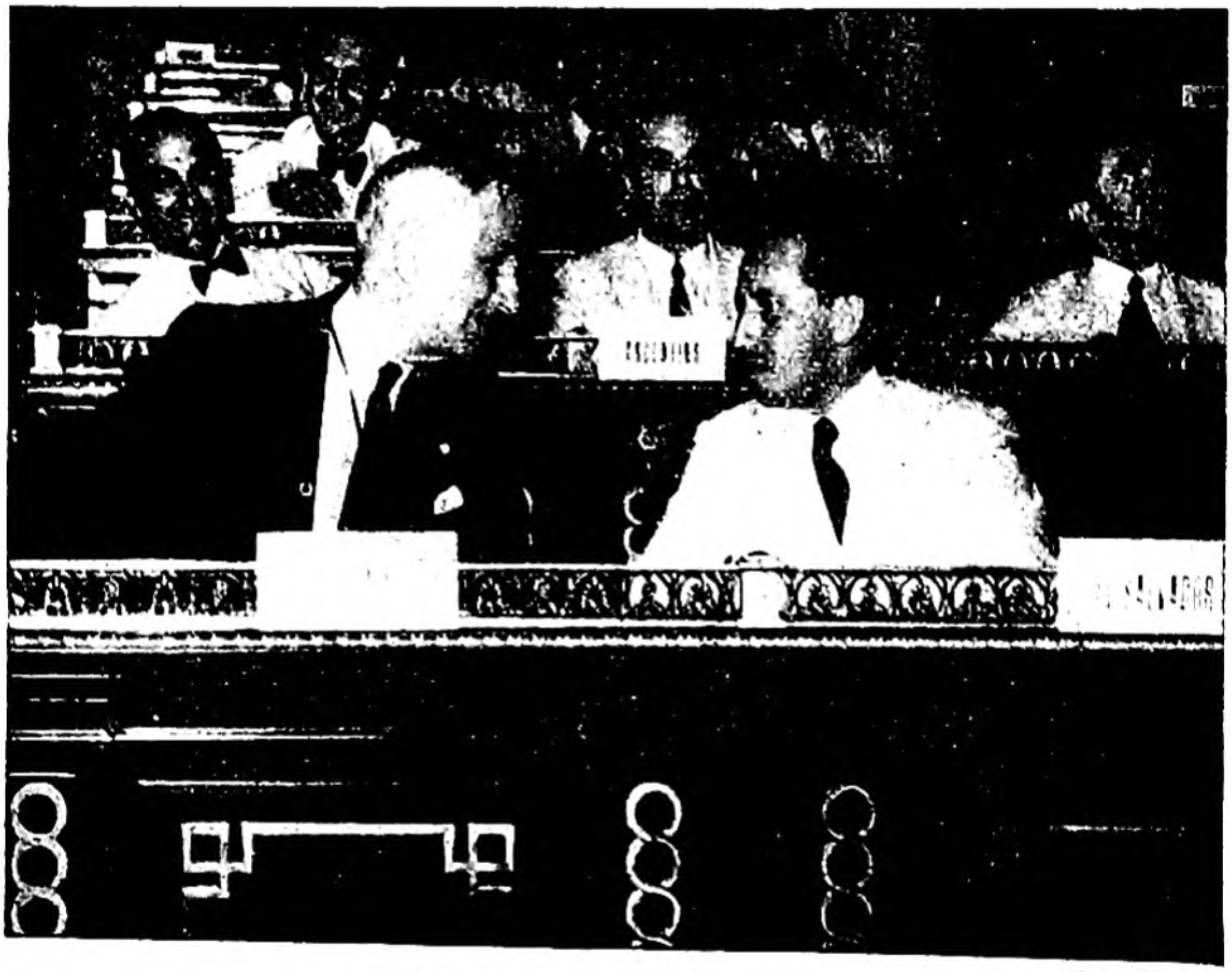
In the days before the war the United States made efforts to preserve peace. During the Czech crisis Roosevelt called the attention of both Germany and Czechoslovakia to their obligations under the Kellogg-Briand Pact. He appealed for peace to both Hitler and President Beneš of Czechoslovakia and made a personal plea to Mussolini. In similar manner he appealed for peace at the time of the Polish crisis. When Italy hung on the verge of war in 1940, Roosevelt offered to transmit to the Allies any demands which Italy desired to make and to seek assurances that any concessions granted at the moment would be made good at the end of the war.

War having come, the President, on September 5, 1939, issued the usual proclamation of neutrality. Then came a second proclamation necessitated by the Neutrality Acts, embargoing the shipment of arms, munitions, airplanes and airplane parts to belligerents, banning the travel of Americans on belligerent ships in the war zones and delimiting the war zone. In succeeding months, as Germany conquered one nation after another, Roosevelt took over the credits of these nations in American banks and elsewhere in the United States in order to protect American property in the invaded countries.

11. **Defense of the American Hemisphere.** The first interest of the American government after the declaration of war was the defense of our own country. This meant more than the mere protection of our own shores from any possible aggression of the Fascist nations. It also meant the safeguarding of any part of the two American continents from Fascist penetration. At least three important reasons made it necessary that this country coöperate closely with Latin America in hemisphere defense. In the first place, Latin America was closer to Europe than to the United States and was within easy reach of European or African air bases. Any attack on the United States by Germany would presumably come through Latin America. In the second place, Latin America with tiny navies

and small armies was virtually defenseless. If aggressors were to be kept out of those nations, the defense must be largely taken over by the United States. Finally, the safety of the Panama Canal was absolutely vital to our own safety, at least until we could build a two-ocean navy capable of standing off both Japan and the aggressor powers of Europe.

12. **Unified Action of the American Nations.** With this and more in mind, the United States immediately after the outbreak of the European war sent a call for a conference of foreign ministers of the American states to meet at Panama in September, 1939. Here the representatives proclaimed the solidarity of the American nations and issued a declaration of neutrality in which they set forth standards of conduct to be followed by American states as neutrals. Finally the conference issued the Declaration of Panama which asserted that belligerent activities should not take place in designated waters close to the American continents. Although this declaration was ignored by the belligerents, Roosevelt pressed on in his policy of "hemisphere collaboration." At a Pan-Amer-



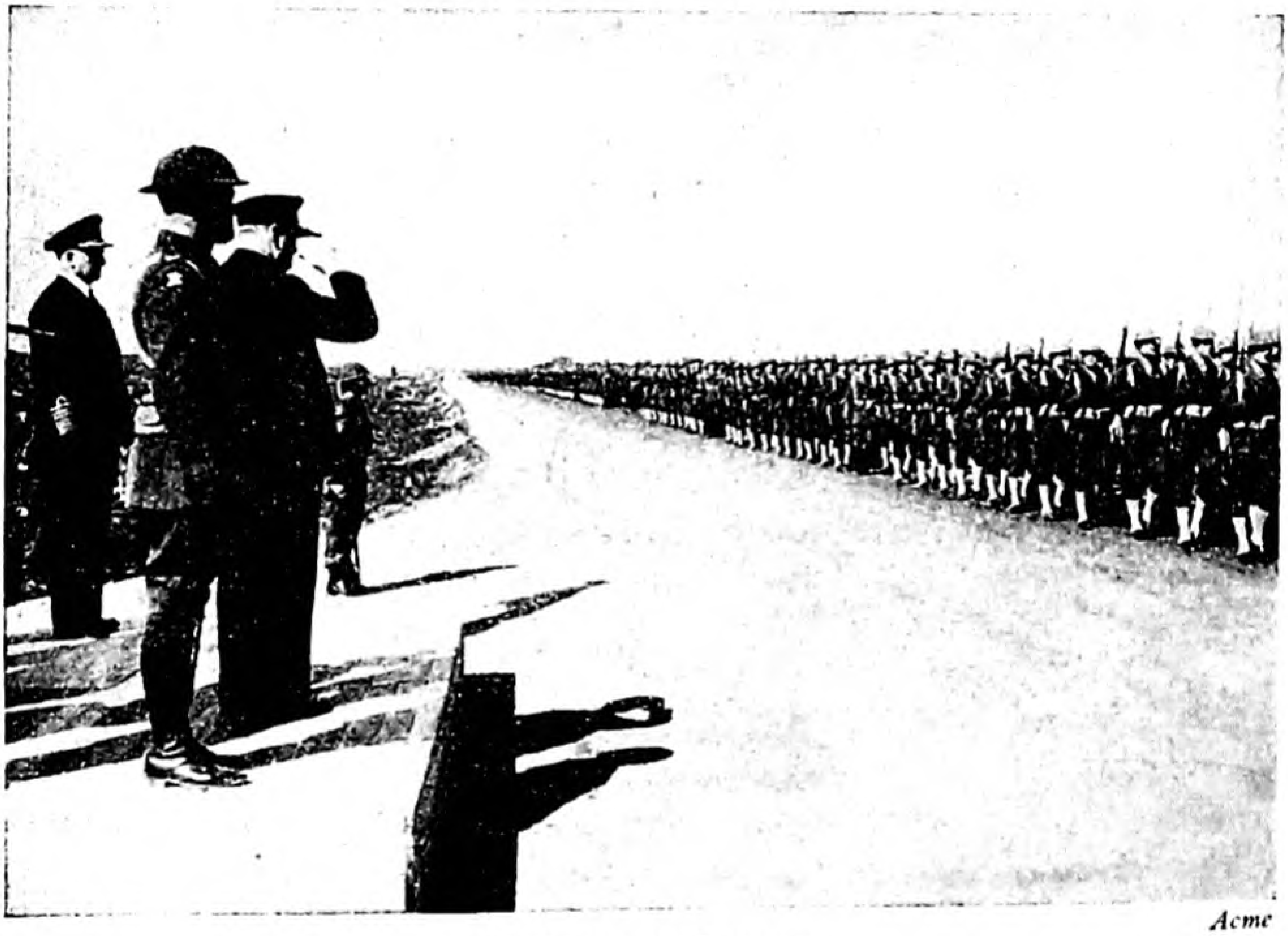
Wide World

PAN-AMERICAN SOLIDARITY

Secretary of State Hull chats with Dr. Hecyor E. Serrano, Delegate from San Salvador, at the opening session of the Pan-American Conference at Havana in July, 1940.

ican Conference at Havana in 1940 he proposed a treaty (to go into effect when two-thirds of the American countries had ratified it), setting up an Inter-American Commission of Territorial Administration to take over and administer any territory respecting which there is "some transfer or intent to transfer sovereignty."

In the meantime, the American government after the fall of France had informed the interested European nations that "the United States would not recognize any transfer and would not acquiesce in any attempt to transfer any geographic region [in this hemisphere] from one non-American power to another non-American power." At the same time our government lent large amounts to certain Latin-American nations to cement closer commercial relations. It also set up a branch of the Council of National Defense to promote closer cultural and commercial relations with the nations to the south and counteract Nazi or Fascist propaganda there. This program in part was an effort by the United States to enlarge the Monroe Doctrine to include the active participation of Latin-American nations in the responsibility of protecting themselves from attack.



Acme

HEMISPHERE DEFENSE

Prime Minister Churchill reviews United States troops in Iceland in August, 1941, after his history-making meeting with President Roosevelt.

Hemisphere defense was concerned with Canada as well as Latin

America. In a famous speech in 1938 President Roosevelt pledged that "the people of the United States will not stand idly by" if Canadian soil is threatened. As a matter of fact, we could not afford to allow the conquest of our northern neighbor. In line with this policy an agreement was concluded in 1940 for a permanent joint defense board of the two nations to study defense problems affecting the northern part of North America. In 1941 the United States occupied Greenland and Iceland with the consent of the governments concerned, with the purpose of stationing troops in both places for the duration of the war.

While closer coördination of defense was being established between the United States and Canada, negotiations were conducted between this government and Great Britain for further strengthening of hemisphere defense. Under an arrangement announced in September, 1940, Great Britain in exchange for 50 "over-age" destroyers granted to the United States the right to lease naval and air bases in Newfoundland, Bermuda, Bahamas, Jamaica, St. Lucia, Trinidad, Antigua and British Guiana. Construction of these bases was pushed rapidly and by the end of 1941 an important outer ring of defense extending from Iceland to South America had been established (see map, Fig. 19).

13. **Aid to the Democracies.** From the beginning there was no question where the sympathies of the great majority of Americans lay in the European conflict. Committed, as a whole, to political democracy and to a belief in civil liberties, Americans were shocked from the start at the overthrow of political democracy in Germany by the Nazi party and at the atrocities committed upon religious and racial minorities and upon political dissenters. Opposition to Nazi methods was strengthened by the unprovoked assaults upon Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Denmark, Norway, Belgium, Holland, Jugoslavia and Greece, free nations that stood in the way of Germany's desire to dominate Europe. Pledges, treaties and international law counted for nothing in the Nazi program. Under the circumstances, it is not surprising that Americans began to wonder where this program of domination might end and to take account of their own ability to defend themselves. In a world in which might alone seemed to count, might must be used for defense. Nor was it surprising that Americans considered Great Britain their first line of defense.

America's attitude toward the dictators and their methods was well known. Two years before the war commenced Roosevelt had described the world as one "in which confidence and security have broken down," and had urged that peace-loving nations "make a concerted effort in opposition" to nations breaking treaties and ignoring "human instincts." Time and again in the following years he defended democracy and condemned the policies and acts of the dictator governments. When war

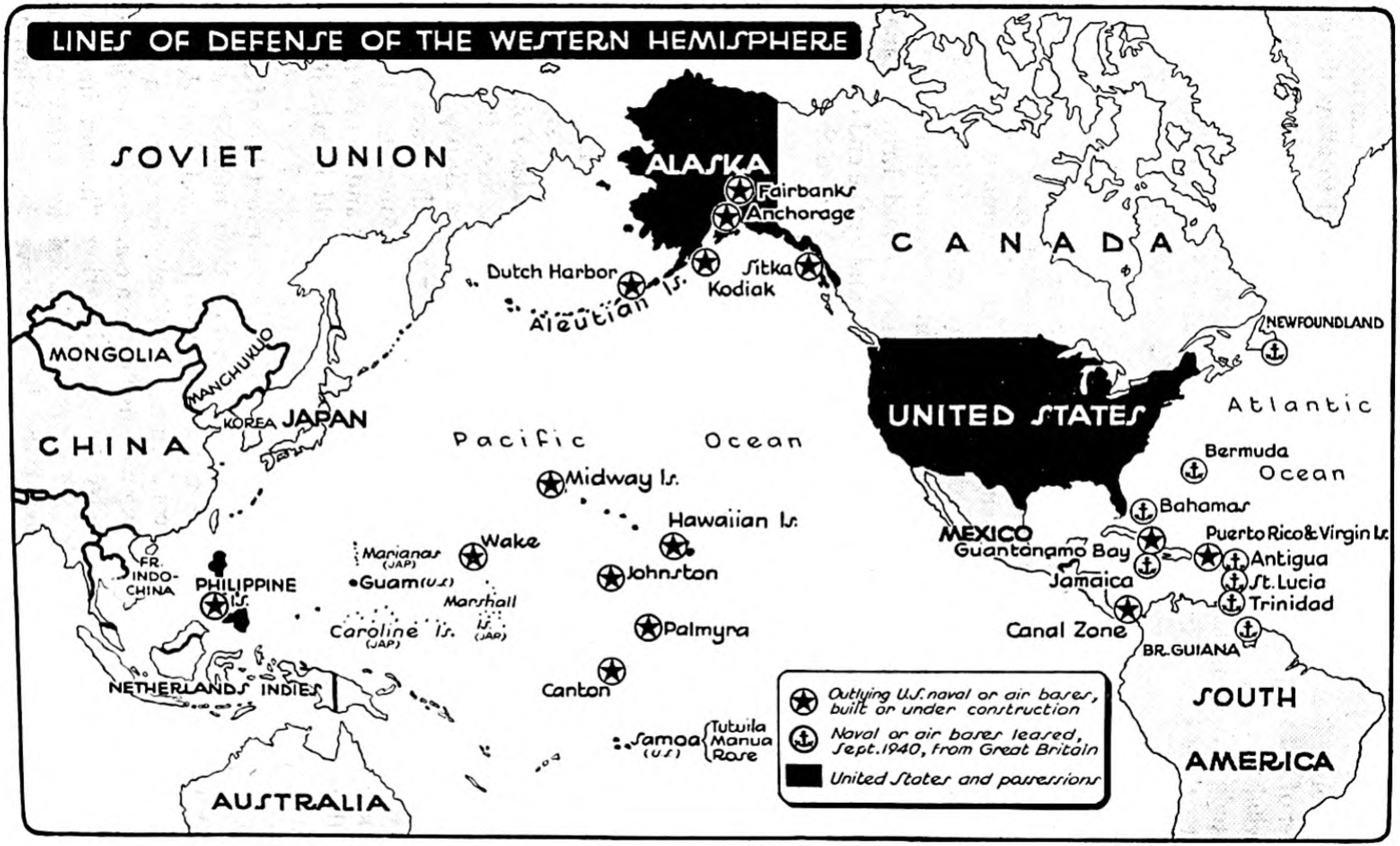

LINES OF DEFENSE OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE
SOVIET UNION
ALASKA
Fairbanks
Anchorage
Dutch Harbor
Aleutian Is.
Kodiak
Sitka
CANADA
NEWFOUNDLAND
MONGOLIA
MANCHUKUO
KOREA
JAPAN
CHINA
Pacific Ocean
UNITED STATES
Atlantic Ocean
Bermuda
Bahamas
Midway Is.
Hawaiian Is.
Wake
Marianas (JAP)
Guam (U.S.)
Marshall Is. (JAP)
Caroline Is. (JAP)
Johnston
Palmyra
Canton
FR. INDO-CHINA
PHILIPPINE IS.
NETHERLANDS INDIES
Samoa (U.S.)
Tutuila
Manua
Rose
AUSTRALIA
MEXICO
Guantanamo Bay
Jamaica
Puerto Rico & Virgin Is.
Antigua
St. Lucia
Trinidad
Canal Zone
BR. GUIANA
SOUTH AMERICA
Outlying U.S. naval or air bases, built or under construction
Naval or air bases leased, Sept. 1940, from Great Britain
United States and possessions

FIG. 19

finally broke out, it was clear that the policy of the administration would be one of all possible aid to the democracies. The first step was to call Congress into session and request a revision of the Neutrality Act of 1937 so that the Allies might obtain arms and munitions from this country. Congress was reluctant to weaken the act, and the debate in the Senate lasted over a month. In the end the administration was successful. The 1937 Act was revised to allow the belligerents to purchase arms and munitions here, but the revision provided that purchases must be on a "cash and carry" basis and must not be transported in American ships. Otherwise the provisions of the earlier acts were in general retained.

Acme

AID TO BRITAIN

Two British girls admire cans of concentrated orange juice, part of a cargo of dried milk, flour, Canadian wheat, cheese, lard, Red Cross goods, and other foodstuffs brought by a British ship from the United States. Some of the goods were sent under the Lease-Lend Act, others were gifts from Americans.

LEASE-LEND ACTS. When Congress met in January, 1941, Roosevelt repeated his defiance of dictators and asked for what he called "all-out aid" to the embattled democracies. A few days later he sent to Congress a bill which would give him power to sell, exchange, lease or lend any war equipment to any nation whose defense he might think vital to the defense of the United States. Many, who believed this legislation to be an immediate step toward war, opposed it, as did others who felt that it conferred too great a power upon the President. Congress passed this bill with certain amendments and kept control of the purse strings by setting a limit on the valuation of aid to be given. The day after Roosevelt signed the Lease-Lend Act he asked Congress for $7,000,000,000 to make it effective. Within two weeks time Congress granted his request. Additional sums were authorized by Congress, reaching about $1,000,000,000 a month by late 1943.

BREAKDOWN OF NEUTRALITY. Although the Neutrality Act remained on the statute books, it was soon evident that the American government and the great majority of the American people were by no means neutral either in thought or act. They had definitely placed themselves on the side of those nations fighting Germany, Italy and Japan. The Lease-Lend Acts themselves had virtually nullified the "cash and carry" feature of the Neutrality Act of 1939 and the Johnson Act of 1934 (4). Roosevelt's order opening the Red Sea to American merchantmen so that munitions of war might be delivered to Great Britain further weakened the Neutrality Act. His declaration of the existence of an "unlimited emergency" (14) and his pledge that lease-lend supplies would reach their destination were steps in the same direction. These and other statements made it clear that the government had determined to throw overboard the theory of the Neutrality Acts and to return to the older policy of maintaining "freedom of the seas." This was one of the eight points agreed to by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill at their meeting on the high seas in August, 1941. It was again stated in September after an American destroyer had been attacked by a German U-boat near Iceland. Said the President:

"No act of violence will keep us from maintaining intact two bulwarks of defense: First, our line of supply to the enemies of Hitler, and second, the freedom of the seas. From now on, if German or Italian vessels of war enter the waters the protection of which is necessary for American defense, they do so at their own peril."

It became clear in October that the administration intended to eliminate any part of the Neutrality Acts, that might interfere with the doctrine of freedom of the seas. After seven American or American-owned ships had been sunk the President asked Congress to alter the Neutrality Acts to allow the arming of American cargo ships with guns to beat off attacks of Axis U-boats. He also expressed a wish that sections of the act prohibiting American vessels from sailing into combat zones and touching at belligerent ports be repealed. Both requests were granted early in November.

14. Military and Naval Preparations. Although constant efforts were made during the 'thirties to maintain the American navy at a high state of efficiency, it was evident by 1938 that more attention must be given to naval and military preparedness. In a special message in January, 1938, the President insisted that our national defense was "in the light of increasing armaments of other nations, inadequate for purposes of national security," and asked for increased authorizations for the navy. Regular military appropriations for that year were over $1,000,000,000 with another $1,566,000,000 granted in a special naval appropriation bill. Appropriations in 1939 were also large with special attention given to the air force.

It was not until after the fall of France and the threatened invasion of Great Britain, however, that Congress began to devote its chief attention to the problems of national defense. During 1940 a grand total of $17,692,000,000 was appropriated for that purpose. Provisions were made to raise the enlisted strength of the regular army to 375,000 men, the Marine Corps to 34,000 and the National Guard, which the President was empowered to call for a year's active service, to 346,130 men. At the same time appropriations were made to equip an army of 2,000,000 men. Also significant was the decision to construct a two-ocean navy. Facing, as we do, both the Atlantic and the Pacific, and with wars being fought both in the Far East and in Europe, adequate defense meant protection for both our shores. The need of a two-ocean navy seemed clearer after Japan in September, 1940, announced her alliance with Germany and Italy. She pledged herself to attack the United States if we became involved in the European war.[1]

During 1941 preparedness increased with even greater speed. In addition to granting $12,985,000,000 for the two Lease-Lend Acts already mentioned, Congress appropriated over $20,000,000,000 more for national defense. All of this expenditure had to be passed on to the taxpayers and in September, 1941, Congress passed what at the time became the heaviest tax bill in our history. It called for an additional load of $3,553,000,000 to bring up the federal tax income to $13,000,000,000. Taxes of all kinds, including those on luxuries, were increased. Income taxes were steeply raised and exemptions were cut down to bring in 2,265,000 additional tax payers.

By the middle of 1941 Germany had overrun the Balkans, had driven shop" was as important as any "battle of the armies," particularly in an age of highly mechanized warfare. Unlike Germany, manufacturing in America had been keyed to peace-time production rather than to preparation for war. It was a long and difficult process to build more factories, retool them for defense needs, control the use and production of raw materials and meet the problems of labor and capital.

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[1] To give the defense effort a non-partisan character the President in June, 1940, asked two Republicans to serve on his cabinet—Henry L. Stimson to be Secretary of War and Frank Knox to be Secretary of the Navy.

A beginning was made in May, 1940, to coördinate this great task when the President established a Council of National Defense composed of the Secretaries of War, Navy, Interior, Agriculture, Commerce and Labor. The council was given an Advisory Commission with experts to

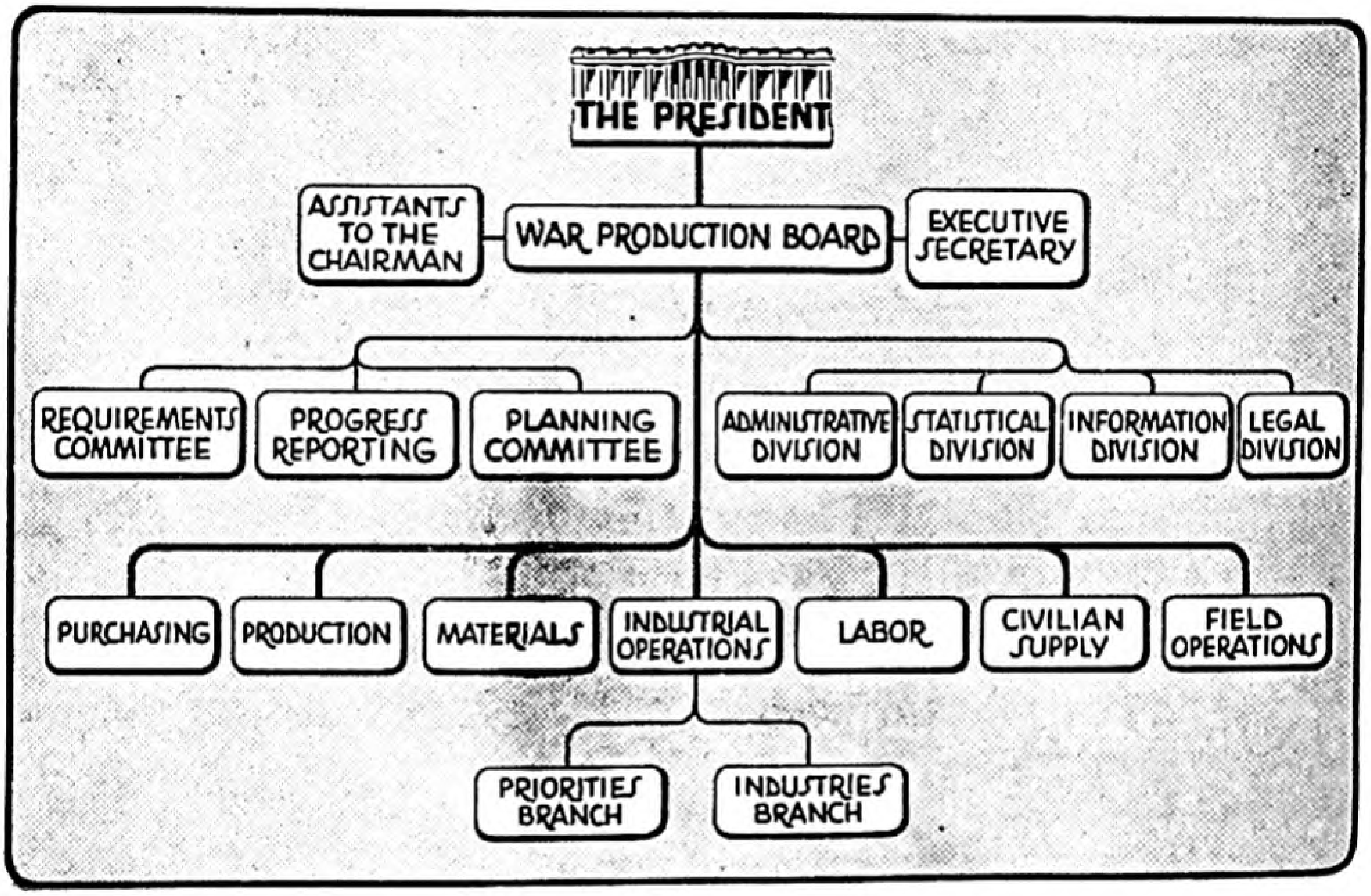
THE PRESIDENT
ASSISTANTS TO THE CHAIRMAN
WAR PRODUCTION BOARD
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
REQUIREMENTS COMMITTEE
PROGRESS REPORTING
PLANNING COMMITTEE
ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION
STATISTICAL DIVISION
INFORMATION DIVISION
LEGAL DIVISION
PURCHASING
PRODUCTION
MATERIALS
INDUSTRIAL OPERATIONS
LABOR
CIVILIAN SUPPLY
FIELD OPERATIONS
PRIORITIES BRANCH
INDUSTRIES BRANCH

FIG. 20

obtain raw materials, supervise production, handle labor problems, manage farm products, supervise transportation, control prices and deal with consumer problems. After seven months' trial it was evident that progress under this setup was unsatisfactory. The difficulty was lack of coördination. To develop more speed and efficiency the President on January 7, 1941, established an Office of Production Management. Under OPM were grouped most of the activities of the Advisory Commission and the whole program of production was speeded.

But progress under the OPM was too slow for the President and the nation, particularly after war commenced. There was obviously a divided responsibility which was slowing up the shift from a peace-time to a war-time economy. Late in January, 1942, the President abolished OPM and in its place set up a War Production Board. At its head he placed Donald M. Nelson, and upon him put the final responsibility for production and distribution of raw materials and finished products and their division among military and civilian needs (Fig. 20).

17. United States at War. Although the eyes of most Americans had been fastened on Europe since that fateful September 1, 1939, when Germany invaded Poland, the Second World War had in reality begun in the Far East. Moreover, it was the Asiatic aspect of this world conflict that brought the United States into the war. In 1937 Japan invaded China with the announcement that she was "devoting her energy to the establishment of a new order based on genuine justice throughout East Asia." To the United States this was simply another way of announcing that Japan intended to dominate the Far East. From the beginning the United States took the position that the Japanese invasion was a violation of the Nine-Power Treaty (*X, 8*) and the "open door" policy.

Nevertheless, this country was unwilling to go to war to maintain a situation in a distant region where our own trade and investments were small. In 1937, when the American gunboat *Panay* was bombed and machine-gunned by Japanese airplanes, this country obtained apologies, indemnities and a promise that there would be no repetition of such an incident. In September, 1940, Japan announced an alliance with Germany and Italy, under which the three powers pledged political, economic and military assistance to one another if one of them should be attacked by a power not involved at that time in the European war or the Chinese-Japanese conflict. This triple alliance of the dictator powers was directed primarily against the United States, and was so understood. In 1941 Japan signed a non-aggression pact with Russia which further strengthened her position to carry on the Chinese war, and endangered the position of the United States, England, France and Holland in the Far East.

During these years, because President Roosevelt refused to recognize officially a state of war, the Neutrality Acts were not applied. This position was presumably taken on the theory that such a policy would aid China more than Japan. Later he did embargo steel, scrap iron and high grade gasoline. He also announced on July 26, 1939, that six months from date the American-Japanese trade treaty would end. After the collapse of France and Holland in 1940, our government further stated that it would consider any Japanese action to absorb European colonies in the Far East as a violation of the Four-Power Treaty of 1922 (*X, 8*). Japan, nevertheless, secured an agreement with France in July, 1941, permitting complete occupation of Indo-China by Japanese troops. The United States replied by freezing Japanese credits in this country. In the meantime our government, by small loans and other help, encouraged China to resist.

ATTACK ON PEARL HARBOR. For four years the policy of the United States in the Far East had been to check Japan but at the same time to prevent a spread of the Asiatic conflict. This policy ended dramatically on Sunday, December 7, 1941, when Japanese airplanes and submarines attacked Pearl Harbor in the Hawaiian Islands, the chief American defense base in the Pacific. This attack took place before a declaration of war and while a special Japanese envoy was in Washington presumably on a mission of peace.

On November 20 the Japanese government had proposed that the United States and Japan agree not to dispatch armed forces into any of the regions of Southeastern Asia and the Southern Pacific, excepting Indo-China (under Japanese protection), and that the United States agree to supply Japan with oil and abstain from any action against Japan's efforts to conquer China. The United States on November 26 submitted a counter-proposal which included a multilateral non-aggression pact for all the nations of Eastern Asia, a most favored trade treaty with Japan and other economic concessions. On December 2 the State Department inquired of Japan the reason for the continued dispatch of troops to Indo-China and on December 5 Japan answered that the reason was Japanese fear of Chinese aggression. On December 6 the President sent a personal appeal to Emperor Hirohito in the interest of peace in Southeastern Asia. Japan's answer was the bombing of Pearl Harbor, and a declaration of war against the United States.

The treacherous and unexpected attack on Pearl Harbor was a costly blow to the United States. Its chief immediate effect, however, was to unite the American people in determined opposition to the aggressor nations. On Monday, December 8, President Roosevelt appeared before Congress and asked for a declaration of war against Japan. The vote for war in the Senate was 82 to 0 and in the House 388 to 1. On December 10 Germany and Italy declared war against the United States and on the following day Congress passed resolutions without a dissenting vote recognizing a state of war existing with those nations. Congress immediately removed restrictions in the Selective Service Act to allow the use of troops outside the Western Hemisphere and extended the terms of enlistments or inductions to a date six months after the termination of the conflict. A few days later the Selective Service Act was extended to require the registration of all men from 18 to 64 years for all kinds of defense work and to authorize military service for all men from age 20 (later reduced to 18) to age 44. The upper age limit was later set at 38 years by the army.

With the United States at war with Japan, Germany, Italy and their subject nations, the conflict had become in reality a world war.[1] To defeat the axis powers was obviously the first and primary objective. Said the President in his war message of December 8:

> No matter how long it may take us to overcome this premeditated invasion, the American people, in their righteous might, will win through to absolute victory.
>
> I believe that I interpret the will of Congress and of the people when I assert that we will not only defend ourselves to the uttermost but will make it very certain that this form of treachery shall never again endanger us.

Beyond the defeat of the axis powers only certain "general principles" had as yet been suggested as a basis for peace. These had been formulated in August, 1941 at the famous Atlantic conference between President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill. They included the following points:

1. No territorial or other aggrandizement by the United States or Britain.
2. Territorial changes only through self-determination.
3. The right of "all peoples" to choose their own forms of government; those forcibly deprived of the right to have it restored.
4. Free international trade.
5. World-wide coöperation to secure "improved labor standards, economic adjustments and social security."
6. "After the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny," assurances of a secure peace, of "freedom from fear and want."
7. Freedom of the seas.
8. "Abandonment of the use of force," disarming of aggressor nations, and lightening "for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments."

If these objectives can be attained, the people of the world may look forward to a happier and more peaceful future. They are objectives worth fighting for. In the Second World War Americans are fighting not alone to defend their soil and their democratic way of life, but also to build a better world.

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[1] The declaration of war by Japan, Germany and Italy against the United States and our answer immediately brought other nations into the war. By the end of the year Australia, China, Costa Rica, Cuba, Canada, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Free France, Great Britain, Guatemala, Honduras, Haiti, The Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Poland, Panama, South Africa and the United States were at war with all of the axis powers. Bolivia declared war only on Japan. The following nations had declared war on Germany and Italy: Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Luxemburg, Norway, U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia. Finland was at war with Russia and Great Britain. Against the allied powers by official declarations of war were Bulgaria, Croatia, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Manchukuo, Rumania and Slovakia.

18. The Past. In these courses which now draw to a conclusion in this final volume, it has been our task to trace the history of the United States from the time when Europeans first set out on voyages of discovery to our entrance into the Second World War. In an attempt to simplify an exceedingly intricate story, an effort has been made to emphasize the salient features of the political, economic, social and diplomatic history. We have seen how the struggling seacoast settlements grew in numbers and expanded to the West until one people and one nation occupied the mighty stretch of territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific. We have seen how 13 colonies won their independence and welded themselves into a nation; and how that nation, growing constantly stronger, finally emerged into a powerful empire. It has been a story of amazing economic development, striking social changes and, on the whole, successful diplomacy. Only 140 years passed from the dawn of the American Revolution to the First World War in which the United States was to prove the decisive factor. In the span of history this is but a brief episode, but in the lives of Americans it is all important, for we are the heirs of this past.

19. The Present and the Future. The conquest of a continent and the growth of a nation could hardly be accomplished without the development of serious problems, particularly when they coincided with the period of the Industrial Revolution. As the story has unfolded itself, many of these problems have been suggested. Few of them have yet reached any satisfactory solution. Our forefathers, striving according to their best lights, took a wilderness and reduced it to some form of civilization. To fall heir to such a glorious history and heritage is the privilege of American youth. But privileges carry with them duties. As in 1917 Americans old and young were again faced in 1941 with the necessity of defending their heritage of freedom and democracy against nations that would destroy them. With the end of the conflict Americans will face an equally difficult task—that of helping to build a just and lasting peace.

Can You Use These Terms?

A. Underscore the phrases or expressions that correctly complete the following statements. There may be more than one correct response to a statement.

1. A reciprocal tariff: (a) is a "give and take" tariff; (b) is a flexible tariff; (c) promotes international trade.
2. The Trade Agreements Act: (a) closes American markets to imported goods; (b) provides for reciprocal tariffs; (c) enables the State Department to arrange tariff agreements with foreign countries without the necessity for obtaining the Senate's approval.

3. Our "most-favored-nation" agreements: (a) mean that we grant trading privileges to one nation that we deny to all others; (b) grant similar trade concessions to all nations with which we have such agreements; (c) have been made with 27 nations.
4. Congressional lobbies are: (a) committees established by the House of Representatives; (b) agencies maintained by special interests to influence federal law-making; (c) sometimes highly detrimental to the public interest.

Do You Know the Facts?

B. Each of the groups below is concerned with a particular trend or development concerning the United States and world relationships during recent years. Place an x *in the parentheses in front of each item that supports the stated trend or development.*

1. Modern Economic Life Becomes Increasingly Interdependent.
   a. (   ) The United States is richly endowed with valuable natural resources.
   b. (   ) In 1929 we imported vast quantities of raw silk, rubber, copper and newsprint.
   c. (   ) Of our total imports in 1940, 17 per cent came from Canada, 18 per cent from Asia and Oceania, and 15 per cent from South America.
   d. (   ) In spite of the high tariffs that prevailed during the 1920's there was a large amount of foreign trade.
2. Tariffs Play an Important Part in International Economic Life.
   a. (   ) The more we sell abroad the more prosperous we become, but we cannot continue to sell abroad unless we buy from abroad.
   b. (   ) The ideal tariff is one that will provide adequate revenue, promote international trade, and develop prosperity.
   c. (   ) Reciprocal trade agreements appear to have encouraged the amount of foreign trade.
   d. (   ) We have many "direct investments" in foreign countries.
3. The United States Tended to Adopt a Policy of Economic Imperialism.
   a. (   ) We have invested about $18,000,000,000 in other parts of the world.
   b. (   ) The United States had established protectorates over five nations.
   c. (   ) Until the Spanish-American War we tended to pursue a strongly isolationist policy in our relations with other nations.
   d. (   ) England's domestic industry and commerce declined as British investors built up industry and commerce in other areas.
4. Since the Earlier 1930's the United States Has Tended to Abandon Its Economic Imperialism.

a. (   ) In 1934 a law was passed granting Philippine independence by 1946.
b. (   ) The Theodore Roosevelt Corollary has been replaced by the Good Neighbor Policy.
c. (   ) The Platt Amendment was annulled in 1934.
d. (   ) The Trade Agreements Act was passed in 1934.
e. (   ) Military occupation of Haiti began in 1915, and of Santo Domingo in 1916.

5. During the Early 1930's We Made Some Attempts to Improve Our Relations with European Nations.

a. (   ) The United States made trade agreements with eight European nations.
b. (   ) Diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union were resumed in 1933.
c. (   ) The Senate would not approve our membership in the World Court.
d. (   ) The Neutrality Acts passed during these years were an attempt to uphold our isolation should war break out in Europe.
e. (   ) In 1933 at the London Economic Conference we would not discuss war debts.

6. Inevitably the United States Aligned Itself with the Other Democracies of the World.

a. (   ) In 1938 and 1939 Germany extended her territory and signed a non-aggression pact with Russia.
b. (   ) Our Neutrality laws were applied when war broke out in Europe in September of 1939.
c. (   ) The Neutrality Act of 1937 was revised so that belligerent nations could buy war materials here on a "cash and carry" basis which naturally benefited England more than Germany.
d. (   ) The Lease-Lend Act was passed expressly to aid the world's democracies to fight dictatorships.
e. (   ) Before we entered the war we had armed our merchant vessels, sent goods in American ships to ports of the warring democracies, had increased our armaments, and had taken steps to mobilize our industrial power.

Can You Use What You Have Learned?

C. Some of the following statements are true, some are false, others may be opinions. If the statement is true, circle the letter **T**, *or the letter* **F** *if it is false. If it is an opinion, circle the letter* **O**. *If the reason why the statement is an opinion is not given in this chapter, also circle the letters* **NI** *(no information).*

1. T F O NI Modern economic life is so complex that economic isolation is virtually impossible for an industrialized nation.
2. T F O NI International problems are primarily economic.
3. T F O NI It was not reasonable, from an economic standpoint, to expect that the war debts accumulated during the First World War should be paid.
4. T F O NI Nations with money to spend on armaments could afford to pay us their war debts.
5. T F O NI Possession of the Philippine Islands enabled us to expand our trade tremendously in the Orient.
6. T F O NI The Good Neighbor Policy is a reversal of the policy carried out in Latin America in the early years of this century.
7. T F O NI Cancellation of the Platt Amendment ended our economic control of Cuba.
8. T F O NI The Neutrality Acts of the 1930's discarded our traditional policy of freedom of the seas.
9. T F O NI Had we enforced our Neutrality Acts we would not have been drawn into the Second World War.
10. T F O NI The outbreak of the Second World War brought together the United States and most Latin American nations for purposes of their joint neutrality and common defense.
11. T F O NI The general attitude of hostility toward Germany was not evident in the United States until months after the outbreak of the Second World War.
12. T F O NI It was clear long before the war began that the United States officially condemned the practices of Germany and Italy.
13. T F O NI The Lease-Lend Acts not only gave too much power to the President but led us inevitably toward war with Germany.
14. T F O NI There was strong opposition to the passage of the Selective Service and Training Act in 1940 because we were not then at war.
15. T F O NI Japan's invasion of China was in violation of the Nine Power Treaty and the "open door" policy.
16. T F O NI We made no efforts in the late 1930's because of our Neutrality Acts to reach an understanding with Japan.
17. T F O NI Japan launched its long-prepared attack on Pearl Harbor while Japanese representatives were in Washington apparently seeking to maintain peace with the United States.

G RLS CO

Summarizing Exercise

GENERALIZATION: Since the Late 1920's the United States Has Increased Its Efforts to Collaborate with Other Nations.

D. Below are a number of statements. If the statement supports the generalization given above, circle the letter **Y** *(Yes). Circle the letter* **N** *(No) if it does not support the generalization.*

1. **Y N** Modern economic life increases the interdependence of nations.
2. **Y N** Tariffs usually are created to provide revenue and protection of domestic products.
3. **Y N** About 25 reciprocal trade agreements with other nations have been made since 1934.
4. **Y N** Many large American corporations have plants in other countries.
5. **Y N** In 1931, we suspended war debt payments for a year in an effort to check world-wide depression.
6. **Y N** Military occupation of certain Latin American countries was ended by the early 1930's.
7. **Y N** At the Pan-American Conference in Lima in 1938 we officially cancelled the Roosevelt Corollary.
8. **Y N** The President of the United States attempted to have Germany observe her commitment under the Kellogg-Briand Pact of Paris.
9. **Y N** Isolationist sentiment had much to do with the passage of the Neutrality Acts of the 1930's.
10. **Y N** The Atlantic Charter, drawn up by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill in August 1941, four months before Pearl Harbor, is a statement of the general principles to guide the making of peace.

Class or Correspondence Assignments

E. See general instructions under this heading, p. vi.

1. Give an account of our relations with Latin America since the 1920's touching upon: (a) reasons why a change was brought about; (b) Good Neighbor policy in action; (c) collaboration between Latin America and the United States since the outbreak of the Second World War.
2. Discuss conditions and events that led to our entry into the Second World War including: (a) application of the Neutrality and Lease-Lend Acts; (b) preparation by the United States for defense prior to our entrance into the War; (c) steps taken by Japan, Italy and Germany that provoked our declarations of war.
3. Discuss the principles set forth in the Atlantic Charter as means to establish peace, giving particular attention to three of the following: (a) territorial changes only through self-determination; (b) freedom

for international trade; (c) the right of all peoples to choose their own forms of government; (d) disarmament.

Suggested Readings

Textbooks:

For further information concerning international aspects of our history during the 1930's consult: C. Becker, *The History of Modern Europe, Imperialism and World Conflict*, chaps. v, vi, EM-206; H. U. Faulkner, *American Political and Social History*, pp. 706-10, 723-29, chap. xlii. Among many interesting accounts of these years in other parts of the world are: J. Gunther, *Inside Europe, Inside Asia*, and *Inside Latin America*; and W. L. Shirer, *Berlin Diary.*

Have you completed your Course Essay? See p. vii of this book.

Have you applied for your End-of-Course Test? See p. vii of this book.

Full-Course Review and Self-Check

AMERICAN LEADERS

A. Match the following items in the right-hand column with the proper choices in the left-hand column. To do this, insert the number or numbers of choices in the parentheses in front of the proper item or items.

CHOICES

1. Proposed the "open door" policy
2. Established the Pan-American Union in the late 1800's
3. Led campaign to reject the Versailles Treaty
4. Negotiated many reciprocal trade treaties
5. Introduced the elective system in American colleges
6. Proposed the Fourteen Points
7. American newspaper publisher of the late 1800's
8. Proposed formulæ for our membership in the World Court
9. Great leader in social service work in Chicago
10. Leading American educator in the early 1900's
11. Led movement for free schools in the earlier 1800's
12. Led movement for higher education for women in earlier 1800's.

ITEMS

a. ( ) Elihu Root
b. ( ) Charles W. Eliot
c. ( ) Jane Addams
d. ( ) John Hay
e. ( ) Senator Lodge
f. ( ) John Dewey
g. ( ) Emma Willard
h. ( ) Cordell Hull
i. ( ) Horace Mann
j. ( ) Woodrow Wilson
k. ( ) James G. Blaine
l. ( ) Joseph Pulitzer

B. Underscore the name of each person not *properly classified in each of the following groups. On the line following each group write the number of the group heading in which these persons' names should be placed. For example, in a list of artists the names of Lincoln and Lee should be under-*

scored and the number 5 (statesmen) and the number 6 (Army and Navy leaders) written in that order on the line after the group of artists.

1. Science and Invention including Medicine and Engineering
   (a) Benjamin Franklin; (b) Cyrus Field; (c) Louis Agassiz; (d) Alexander Graham Bell; (e) Edward L. Trudeau; (f) Theodore Dreiser; (g) Thomas A. Edison; (h) W. T. G. Morton; (i) William C. Gorgas.__________
2. Authors
   (a) Henry Wadsworth Longfellow; (b) Ralph Waldo Emerson; (c) Lucretia Mott; (d) Washington Irving; (e) Henry David Thoreau; (f) Winfield Scott; (g) Herman Melville; (h) Mark Twain; (i) Walt Whitman.__________
3. Newspaper Publishers and Editors
   (a) James Gordon Bennett; (b) William H. Seward; (c) Zabdiel Boylston; (d) William Cullen Bryant; (e) Horace Greeley; (f) Edgar Allan Poe; (g) William Randolph Hearst; (h) Peter Zenger; (i) Henry J. Raymond; (j) Joseph Pulitzer.__________
4. Leaders in Social Reforms and Women's Rights Movements
   (a) Elizabeth Cady Stanton; (b) Dorothea Dix; (c) Neal Dow; (d) Mary Lyon; (e) Thomas Pinckney; (f) Charles Steinmetz; (g) Emily Dickinson.__________
5. Statesmen
   (a) Sherwood Anderson; (b) John Quincy Adams; (c) John Greenleaf Whittier; (d) John Jay; (e) Grover Cleveland; (f) George W. Goethals; (g) James Monroe; (h) Andrew Carnegie.__________
6. Army and Navy Leaders
   (a) Matthew C. Perry; (b) Martin Van Buren; (c) Stephen Kearney; (d) Andrew Jackson; (e) George Dewey; (f) Horace Mann; (g) James Gadsden; (h) John J. Pershing; (i) William S. Sims.
   ____

Do You Know the Principal Facts?

C. Underscore the phrases or expressions that correctly complete the following statements. There is only one correct response to a statement.

1. The first law providing for elementary education was passed in the colony of: (a) Virginia; (b) Massachusetts; (c) New York; (d) Pennsylvania.
2. The first college established in the British colonies was: (a) Harvard; (b) Yale; (c) Princeton; (d) William and Mary.
3. Free public elementary schools had been generally accepted in the United States by about; (a) 1790; (b) 1840; (c) 1870; (d) 1900.
4. The Morrill Act of 1862 provided for: (a) distribution of western lands to settlers on easy terms; (b) federal aid for railroad construc-

tion; (c) grants of land to establish agricultural colleges; (d) high schools in the mid-western states.

5. Public water supply systems had been established in most of our larger cities by about: (a) 1800; (b) 1840; (c) 1880; (d) 1910.
6. By 1940 the majority of the American people lived in: (a) rural areas; (b) cities of 100,000 or more population; (c) cities of 8,000 or more population; (d) the north central states.
7. Our first great period of reform movements occurred during the: (a) 1830's and 1840's; (b) late 1800's; (c) early 1900's; (d) immediately after the First World War.
8. Electricity first came into fairly extended use for lighting and power by about: (a) 1850; (b) 1880; (c) 1900; (d) 1915.
9. During the years after the First World War our average annual bill for law enforcement came to about: (a) $25,000,000; (b) $50,000,000; (c) $100,000,000; (d) $1,000,000,000.
10. Our literary "Golden Age" occurred about: (a) 1750; (b) 1800; (c) 1850; (d) 1900.
11. The primary reason for the growth of urban communities during the past 100 years has been: (a) improved methods of transportation; (b) improvement of living conditions in the cities; (c) the Industrial Revolution; (d) shift of the people from the country to the cities.
12. By the time Amendment XVIII was adopted prohibition laws were in effect in about: (a) 10 states; (b) 20 states; (c) 30 states; (d) 40 states.
13. Penny newspapers first came into comparatively wide circulation about: (a) 1800; (b) 1830; (c) 1860; (d) 1890.
14. The territory now including the states of Washington and Oregon became a part of the United States by means of: (a) conquest in 1854; (b) purchase in 1819; (c) agreement with England in 1846; (d) agreement with France in 1803.
15. The first territorial acquisition made by the United States in the 1800's was: (a) Florida; (b) the Louisiana Purchase; (c) Texas; (d) Ohio.
16. Texas became a part of the United States through: (a) annexation in 1845; (b) purchase from Spain in 1819; (c) conquest by the United States in 1846; (d) cession by Spain in 1842.
17. The boundary between the United States and Canada was completely established from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans by: (a) 1803; (b) 1818; (c) 1842; (d) 1846.
18. When we acquired Texas it was: (a) Spanish territory; (b) Mexican territory; (c) a republic that formerly had been a part of Mexico; (d) a part of the Louisiana Purchase ceded by France.
19. The Platt Amendment: (a) declared that Cuba was to be given her freedom at the close of the Spanish-American War; (b) made Cuba

an American protectorate; (c) cancelled the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine; (d) provided for payment to Colombia for the Panama Canal Zone.

20. The Monroe Doctrine was: (a) an act of Congress; (b) a treaty; (c) a statement of United States policy; (d) an international law adopted by the Pan-American Union in 1889.
21. The chief significance of the Treaty of Washington of 1871 was that it: (a) was the first serious attempt to reduce armaments by international agreement; (b) paved the way for settlement of four disputes between ourselves and England; (c) was the greatest treaty of arbitration that had ever been negotiated; (d) provided for the purchase of Alaska.
22. Our policy of "watchful waiting" with respect to Mexico was advocated by President: (a) McKinley; (b) Taft; (c) Theodore Roosevelt; (d) Wilson.
23. The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine was resented by many Latin Americans because: (a) we made them pay their debts; (b) they did not want us to protect them; (c) they disliked our interference in their domestic affairs; (d) it deprived them of their extraterritorial rights.
24. The Monroe Doctrine was challenged by both England and Germany in the: (a) Venezuela Boundary Dispute; (b) Venezuela Debt Affair; (c) case of the North Atlantic fisheries; (d) Maximilian Affair.
25. We sent an expeditionary force into Mexico in pursuit of the bandit Villa: (a) in the late 1800's; (b) just before we entered the First World War; (c) in the early 1920's; (d) in 1934.
26. Since about the mid-1920's we have: (a) abandoned the Caribbean Sea as our sphere of influence; (b) made further applications of the Roosevelt Corollary in several central American nations; (c) repudiated the Roosevelt Corollary; (d) adopted the policy set forth in the Ostend Manifesto.
27. The Open Door Policy stated that: (a) Japan must not be allowed to trade with China; (b) Japan must restore Manchuria to China; (c) all nations were to have equal opportunity to trade with China; (d) Britain and the United States would protect the new Chinese republic from aggressor nations.
28. The Nine Power Treaty: (a) provided for reduction of naval armaments; (b) stated that there was to be no change in the boundaries of colonial possessions in the Pacific; (c) guaranteed that no nation would attempt to take territory from China; (d) cancelled the Open Door Policy.
29. The fundamental cause of the First World War was: (a) German militarism; (b) secret alliances of the Central Powers; (c) desire for colonies and wider markets by almost all European nations; (d) secret agreements among other nations to dismember Germany.
30. The immediate cause of our entry into the First World War was: (a) successful propaganda in this country; (b) to protect our foreign in-

vestments and our loans to the Allies; (c) the sinking of the *Lusitania*; (d) Germany's resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare early in 1917.

31. During the First World War American troops in France totaled about: (a) 1,000,000 men; (b) 2,000,000 men; (c) 3,000,000 men; (d) 4,000,000 men.

32. The biggest operation carried on by American troops on the western front was the: (a) battle of Chateau-Thierry; (b) Meuse-Argonne drive; (c) battle of Belleau Wood; (d) reduction of the St. Mihiel salient.

33. American total casualties in battle in the First World War reached about: (a) 50,000; (b) 75,000; (c) 100,000; (d) 150,000.

34. The armistice ending hostilities in the First World War came on November 11th of: (a) 1917; (b) 1918; (c) 1919; (d) 1920.

35. The United States refused to ratify the Versailles Treaty mainly because: (a) there was a feeling that Germany was not being punished enough; (b) many people believed that the treaty was unjust; (c) by doing so we would have become a member of the League of Nations; (d) the war debts were not paid.

36. Provision for permanent international arbitration machinery first was made by: (a) Treaty of Washington of 1871; (b) first Hague Conference in 1899; (c) League of Nations; (d) World Court.

37. The United States did not join the World Court because: (a) only members of the League of Nations were eligible; (b) every American President since the First World War urged us not to join; (c) member-nations would not accept the conditions under which we agreed to join; (d) the Court failed to function.

38. The first agreement concerning the reduction of naval armaments was reached at the international conference at: (a) Washington in 1922; (b) Geneva in 1927; (c) London in 1930; (d) London in 1936.

39. Evidences of further imperialistic practices on the part of the United States were: (a) annexation of Hawaii and the Philippines; (b) cancellation of the Platt Amendment; (c) passage of the Philippine Independence Act; (d) annulment of the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine at the Pan-American Conference at Lima in 1938.

40. Our relations with European nations were improved during the 1930's by: (a) the Good Neighbor Policy; (b) negotiation of reciprocal trade agreements; (c) the Rush-Bagot Agreement; (d) our participation in the London Economic Conference.

41. The Neutrality Acts of 1935 and 1937: (a) were applied when war began between China and Japan; (b) provided originally for the arming of United States merchant vessels; (c) abandoned our traditional principle of "freedom of the seas"; (d) remained in effect until Japan attacked Pearl Harbor.

42. The Lease-Lend Acts: (a) strengthened the Neutrality Acts of 1935

and 1937; (b) provided for the exchange of 50 of our over-age destroyers in return for the right to use British naval bases in this hemisphere; (c) established the "cash and carry" principle; (d) nullified the Neutrality Acts and enabled us to provide war equipment to the democracies.

43. The Selective Training and Service Act: (a) provided for the drafting of troops for the first time in our history; (b) was passed only after great opposition; (c) was enacted before we entered the Second World War; (d) was passed a few weeks after we entered the Second World War.

44. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor: (a) came after Japan had notified us officially of her refusal to negotiate with us; (b) occurred while Japanese representatives in Washington were negotiating with us; (c) was not premeditated by the Japanese; (d) came immediately after Japan's attack on the Soviet Union.

Do You Understand the Sequence of Events?

D. Indicate the chronological order of the events mentioned within each of the following groups by placing the letters **a, b, c** *in the appropriate parentheses.*

1. ( ) The Mexican Cession
( ) Settlement of the Oregon boundary
( ) Annexation of Texas

2. ( ) Cuban Revolution
( ) Spanish-American War
( ) Annexation of the Philippines

3. ( ) Construction of Panama Canal
( ) Spanish-American War
( ) Acquisition of Puerto Rico

4. ( ) Monroe Doctrine announced
( ) American investments spread to the Caribbean Sea area
( ) Roosevelt Corollary

5. ( ) Latin American republics appear
( ) Napoleonic Wars
( ) Monroe Doctrine announced

6. ( ) Good Neighbor Policy
( ) First World War
( ) Roosevelt Corollary

7. ( ) Sinking of the *Lusitania*
( ) United States entered the First World War
( ) Resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare

8. ( ) World Court established
( ) Hague Court established
( ) Washington Conference on Limitation of Armaments

NOTE: It is impossible to include in a test all of the items with which you should be familiar. After you have completed the above test and have checked your answers, go over the Review for Part 1, and then go over the self-checking items provided for each chapter. Constant repetition of these names and events will fix them in your mind.

Have you completed your Course Essay and applied for your End-of-Course Test? See p. vii of "How to Use This Book."

APPENDIX I

The Constitution of the United States of America[1]

THE PREAMBLE[2]

1. We, the People, Voting by States, Establish the Union. We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE. I. THE LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

SECTION 1. THE CONGRESS

2. A Congress of Two Houses Has Legislative Power. 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION 2. THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

3. The People Elect Their Representatives. 1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors[3] of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

4. Who May Be Representatives? 2. No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

5. Representation in the House Is Based on Population. 3. Representatives and direct Taxes[4] shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, [*which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term*

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[1] The printing of the Constitution as issued by the Department of State is here followed, except for the headings in heavy-faced type, the insertion of brackets and the use of italics.

[2] The preamble is merely an introduction. It states the general purposes in the minds of the framers of the document, but grants no powers. Its clauses, however, have been used to read meaning into clauses in the body of the Constitution.

[3] "Electors" here means voters.

[4] The income tax, as a form of direct tax, may now be levied under the provisions of the Sixteenth Amendment [107].

of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons.[5]][6] The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand,[7] but each State shall have at Least one Representative; [*and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgie three.*]

6. Vacancies in the House Are Filled by Election. 4. When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

7. The House Selects its Speaker and Has Sole Power to Impeach. 5. The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

SECTION 3. THE SENATE

8. Representation in the Senate Is Based on the States. 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, [*chosen by the Legislature thereof,*][8] for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

9. One-third of the Senators Are Chosen Every Two Years. 2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. [*The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year,*][9] so that one third may be chosen every second Year; [*and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.*][10]

10. Who May Be Senators? 3. No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

11. The Vice President Presides over the Senate. 4. The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

12. The Senate Chooses its Other Officers. 5. The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the Absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

13. The Senate Has Sole Power to Try Impeachments. 6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all Impeachments.[11] When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief

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[5] "Persons" here refers to slaves. The word "slave" does not appear in the Constitution, although the word "slavery" is found in the Thirteenth Amendment. The famous three-fifths compromise has been superseded by the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments [98 and 101]. Citizenship has now been granted to the Indians.

[6] Brackets with the italics indicate parts no longer in effect.

[7] Under the 1930 census there was one representative for about every 280,000 persons; under the census of 1940, one for about every 300,000. Congress failed to reapportion representation on the basis of the census of 1920.

[8] Superseded by the Seventeenth Amendment [108].

[9] A temporary provision.

[10] Changed by the Seventeenth Amendment. [109].

[11] Thirteen impeachments have been brought by the House, with four convictions by the Senate. The persons convicted and removed from office were judges.

Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

14. Conviction May Result in Removal from and Disqualification for Office. 7. Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

Section 4. Election and Meetings of Congress

15. The State Legislatures and Congress Determine Conditions of Elections. 1. The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of chusing Senators.

16. Congress Must Meet Once a Year. 2. [*The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.*][12]

Section 5. Organization and Rules of the Houses

17. Each House Has Power to Reject Members. 1. Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

18. Each House Makes its Own Rules. 2. Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behaviour, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member.

19. Each House Must Keep and Publish a Record of its Proceedings. 3. Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

20. Both Houses Must Agree Regarding Adjournment. 4. Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Section 6. Privileges of and Prohibitions upon Congressmen

21. Congressmen Receive a Salary from the United States and Are Entitled to Certain Privileges.[13] 1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony, and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

22. A Congressman Must not Hold any Other Federal Civil Office. 2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been encreased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

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[12] Changed to January third by Twentieth Amendment [117].

[13] Popularly the term "Congressman" means a member of the lower House, but properly it means either a Senator or Representative.

SECTION 7. METHOD OF PASSING LAWS

23. Revenue Bills Must Originate in the House.[14] 1. All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

24. The President May Veto Congressional Bills, but Congress by a Two-thirds Vote Can Override the Veto. 2. Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by Yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

25. The President's Qualified Veto Extends to All Congressional Measures.[15] 3. Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

SECTION 8. THE ENUMERATED POWERS OF CONGRESS[16]

26. Congress Has Power to Lay and Collect Taxes. 1. The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

27. Congress May Borrow Money. 2. To borrow Money on the credit of the United States;

28. Congress Regulates Foreign and Interstate Commerce. 3. To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

29. Congress Legislates Concerning Naturalization and Bankruptcies.[17] 4. To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

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[14] A revenue bill is any bill designed primarily to raise money for governmental purposes. In practice, appropriation or money-spending bills tend to originate in the House, although there is no such constitutional requirement. In the case of either bill, the Senate can amend as it desires. In effect, then, the financial powers of the two Houses are equal.

[15] Proposals of amendment to the Constitution and concurrent resolutions—congressional expressions of opinion—do not require presidential approval.

[16] Additional powers of Congress are granted in Amendments XIII-XVI [98-107] and XIX-XXI [114-24].

[17] Bankruptcy is a legal process enabling an individual unable to pay his debts in full to divide his property proportionately among his creditors, thus releasing him from further legal obligation for the debts in question. State legislation regulated bankruptcy procedure until Congress legislated in 1898, thus establishing "uniform" but not exclusive regulation.

30. **Congress May Provide for Coining Money.** 5. To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

31. **Congress Has Power to Punish Counterfeiting.** 6. To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;

32. **Congress May Establish a Postal Service.** 7. To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

33. **Congress May Grant Copyright and Patent Privileges.**[18] 8. To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

34. **Congress May Establish Inferior Courts.** 9. To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

35. **Congress May Punish Crimes Committed on the High Seas.**[19] 10. To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offences against the Law of Nations;

36. **Congress Has Power to Declare War.** 11. To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal,[20] and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

37. **Congress Raises and Controls Size of the Army.** 12. To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

38. **Congress Provides for and Controls Size of the Navy.** 13. To provide and maintain a Navy;

39. **Congress Makes Rules for Regulation of the Army and Navy.** 14. To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

40. **Congress May Call Out the State Militia.** 15. To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel Invasions;

41. **Congress and the States Control the State Militia.** 16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

42. **Congress Has Sole Power over the District of Columbia.** 17. To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings;—And

43. **In Addition, Congress Has "Implied Powers," Resulting from the Elastic Clause.** 18. To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

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[18] A copyright protects the exclusive rights of publication and sale of a writer, artist, musician, photographer and similar producers for a period of 28 years, with the right of renewal for a like term. A patent grants an inventor protection on the profits of his invention for a period of 17 years. Patent renewals are rare and only by special act of Congress.

[19] "High seas" are the ocean waters beyond the three-mile limit, beyond which no country has exclusive rights. Piracy, or robbery at sea, was more or less common in the eighteenth century. Felonies are serious crimes punishable by death or imprisonment. The law of nations is international law and usually involves neutrality rights.

[20] Letters of marque and reprisal are governmental commissions to privateers or privately owned and operated ships to make war on the ships of the enemy. No commissions were issued for the War between the States or later wars.

SECTION 9. POWERS DENIED TO THE UNITED STATES[21]

44. Congress Must not Limit Immigration before 1808. 1. [*The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.*][22]

45. Congress Must not Suspend the Writ of *Habeas Corpus* Except During Rebellion or Invasion. 2. The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus[23] shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

46. Congress Must not Pass Bills of Attainder or *Ex Post Facto* Laws.[24] 3. No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

47. Congress Must not Levy Direct Taxes Unless in Proportion to Population. 4. No Capitation, or other direct,[25] Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

48. Congress Must not Levy Export Taxes. 5. No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

49. Congress in its Regulations Must not Favor One Port over Another. 6. No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

50. Congress Controls All Expenditures. 7. No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

51. Congress Cannot Grant Titles of Nobility. 8. No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

SECTION 10. POWERS DENIED TO THE STATES[26]

52. The States Are Denied Certain Important Powers. 1. No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit;[27] make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligations of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

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[21] Other restrictions on the United States will be found in Amendments I-X [86-95].

[22] A temporary clause referring to the importation of slaves—a subject for compromise in the Constitutional Convention.

[23] A writ of *habeas corpus* is a court order demanding that the person being detained (in prison, asylum, or elsewhere) be delivered over to the court, which will determine whether the person is being legally or properly detained.

[24] A bill of attainder is a legislative act which inflicts punishment without judicial trial. An *ex post facto* law is legislation which makes criminal an act which was not contrary to law when committed, or which in any way works to the disadvantage of the person accused of a crime committed before the law was passed.

[25] A poll tax and a tax on land are the only forms of direct taxes. Since incomes may come from the ownership of land, the Sixteenth Amendment was necessary in order to levy an income tax [107].

[26] Additional restrictions upon the States will be found in Amendments XIII-XV [98-106], and XIX [114-15].

[27] Bills of credit are paper money.

53. The States Must not Levy Import or Export Duties. 2. No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing it's inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Controul of the Congress.

54. The States Must Limit their Military Activity. 3. No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any Duty of Tonnage,[28] keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE. II. THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

Section 1. The President and the Vice President

55. The President Is the Chief Executive Official. 1. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows

56. The President Is Elected Indirectly by State Electors. 2. Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

57. The President Is Elected by a Majority of the Electoral Votes. 3. [*The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; A quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.*][29]

58. Congress Sets the Time for Election and the Meeting of the "Electoral College."[30] 4. The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the

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[28] Tonnage duties are placed upon vessels in proportion to their capacity. This prohibition therefore prevents an indirect means of levying import and export duties.

[29] Entirely superseded by the Twelfth Amendment [97].

[30] Presidential electors are chosen on the Tuesday following the first Monday in November of each "leap year." The electors, consisting today of that group of party electors receiving a plurality of the state's popular votes, meet in their respective state capitals on the first Monday after the second Wednesday in December and cast their ballots for President and Vice President. On the sixth day of January, the votes of the Electoral College are counted in Congress and the election officially declared, though the results were known to the country in November. The above days for the casting and counting of electoral votes are the dates set by Congress as required by Amendment XX [116].

Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

59. Who May Be President? 5. No person except a natural born Citizen, [*or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution,*][31] shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

60. Vacancy in the Presidency Is Filled by the Vice President. 6. In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation or Inability both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.[32]

61. The President's Salary Cannot Be Changed During his Term.[33] 7. The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be encreased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

62. The President Is Required to Take an Oath of Office. 8. Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION 2. THE POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE PRESIDENT

63. The President Is the Highest Military Officer; He Can Also Check the Federal Judiciary. 1. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the Executive Departments,[34] upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons[35] for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

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[31] This clause is of historical significance only. It was inserted so that foreign-born citizens (such as Alexander Hamilton, James Wilson, Robert Morris and William Paterson) of able leadership should not be excluded.

[32] The Presidential Succession Act (1886) provides that heads of executive departments (cabinet members) succeed the Vice President in order of the creation of their departments, beginning with the Secretary of State and ending with the Secretary of the Interior.

[33] The President's annual salary has been increased, effective with the next term of office, from $25,000 in 1789 to $50,000 in 1873. The present salary, set by Congress in 1909, is $75,000, with a travel allowance of $25,000. Additional appropriations cover certain White House maintenance expenses.

[34] In practice President Washington began to *meet* with the executive heads, thus giving rise to a cabinet. But, it will be noted, there is no constitutional provision for a cabinet. Indeed, the cabinet was not recognized by law until more than 100 years after its creation.

[35] A pardon is freedom from a penalty imposed by the courts. A reprieve is partial relief from or postponement of a sentence. A general pardon, granted to a group, is an amnesty. By proclamation in 1865 President Johnson granted pardon to all Southerners, except the leaders, who had fought in the Confederate cause in the War between the States.

64. The President's Power to Make Treaties and Appointments Is Subject to the Senate's Approval.[36] 2. He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

65. The President May Make Recess Appointments.[37] 3. The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

SECTION 3. THE DUTIES OF THE PRESIDENT

66. The President May Exercise Legislative Influence. 1. He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union,[38] and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

SECTION 4. IMPEACHMENT

67. The President May Be Impeached. 1. The President, Vice President and all Civil Officers of the United States,[39] shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.[40]

ARTICLE. III. THE JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

SECTION 1. THE FEDERAL COURTS

68. Only the Supreme Court Is Established by the Constitution. 1. The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behaviour, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services, a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

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[36] Ratification of treaties requires a two-thirds vote of the Senators *present*, although war may be declared by a majority vote of Congress. Confirmation of appointments requires a simple majority vote in the Senate. This power of the Senate over appointments has given rise to a practice known as "senatorial courtesy."

[37] Occasionally a President will resort to recess appointment when the Senate withholds confirmation of a nominee particularly desired by the President.

[38] The Presidential Message was delivered in person by Washington and Adams, but Jefferson preferred written messages. Jefferson's successors continued his practice until Wilson again appeared before Congress to read his messages.

[39] "All Civil Officers" means all federal executive and judicial appointees, such as cabinet members, ambassadors, judges, and postmasters. Military and naval officials are not subject to impeachment, nor are members of Congress. Members of Congress are official representatives of their respective states, not civil officers of the United States. But Congress may expel its own members for misconduct [18], and military and naval officials are subject to court-martial.

[40] Treason is defined by the Constitution [72]. The phrase, "high crimes and misdemeanors," has been interpreted to mean serious misconduct in office.

SECTION 2. THE JURISDICTION OF THE COURTS

69. The Federal Judiciary Is Supreme. 1. The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity,[41] arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority;—to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls;—to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction;[42]—to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party;—to Controversies between two or more States;—between a State and Citizens of another State;[43]—between Citizens of different States,—between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

70. The Supreme Court Has Original Jurisdiction in Two Classes of Cases; Appellate in All Others.[44] 2. In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

71. Trial Is by Jury in Federal Criminal Cases. 3. The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

SECTION 3. TREASON AND ITS PUNISHMENT

72. Treason Against the United States Is Defined. 1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

73. The Power of Congress to Punish Treason Is Limited. 2. The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

ARTICLE. IV. RELATIONS OF THE STATES

SECTION 1. PUBLIC ACTS

74. A State Must Recognize the Public Acts and Records of Other States. 1. Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

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[41] Equity, applying to certain kinds of civil cases only, developed out of need for relief from the deficiencies of ordinary law. Cases in law follow after the alleged violation of the law; cases in equity attempt "preventive justice," that is, seek to prevent an injustice being done. To prevent a wrong being done, the court will issue an order, called an *injunction*, restraining freedom of action. A judge may order a public official (or a corporation or individual) to do or refrain from doing (as is usually the case) a certain action.

[42] Admiralty and maritime law deals with controversies arising out of the use of the high seas.

[43] This clause has been modified by the Eleventh Amendment [96].

[44] "Original jurisdiction" is the right to hear and determine a case in its first appearance in court; "appellate jurisdiction" is the right to hear a case appealed from a lower court.

SECTION 2. RIGHTS OF CITIZENS OF ONE STATE IN ANOTHER STATE

75. **Citizenship in One State Implies Privileges and Immunities in Another State.** 1. The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.

76. **Fugitives from Justice Must Be Returned to the State from Which They Fled.** 2. A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony,[45] or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

77. **Fugitive Slaves Must Likewise Be Returned.** 3. [*No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.*][46]

SECTION 3. NEW STATES AND TERRITORIES

78. **Congress Admits New States.** 1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.[47]

79. **Congress Has Full Control over the Territories.** 2. The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION 4. PROTECTION OF THE STATES BY THE UNITED STATES

80. **The United States Guarantees each State a Republican Government and Protection against Invasion.** 1. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government,[48] and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

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[45] Crimes punishable by death or imprisonment are usually classified as felonies.

[46] It was under this clause that the Fugitive Slave Acts of 1793 and 1850 were passed. So far as "person" here means slave, the clause is superseded by the Thirteenth Amendment [98].

[47] The creation of West Virginia and its admission to the Union in 1863 under the abnormal conditions of the War between the States were without the consent of the parent State of Virginia. Other instances of the division of a state were the separation of Maine from Massachusetts in 1820, Vermont from New York, 1791, and Kentucky from Virginia, 1792; in each case separation was with the consent of the state being reduced in area.

[48] Republican form of government is not defined by the Constitution, but by implication is the representative form of government in existence in the states when the Constitution was framed.

ARTICLE. V. THE PROCESS OF AMENDMENT

81. The Constitution May Be Amended in Any One of Four Ways. 1. The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided [*that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article*; *and*][49] that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of it's equal Suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE. VI. THE SUPREME LAW OF THE LAND

82. The Federal Government Assumes the Debt of the Confederation. 1. All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

83. The Constitution Is the Supreme Law of the Land. 2. The Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.[50]

84. All State and Federal Officers Are Bound by Oath to Support the Constitution. 3. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

ARTICLE. VII. THE RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

85. The Constitution Is Established when Nine State Conventions Ratify. 1. The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

> done in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independance of the United States of America the Twelfth In Witness whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names,

G° Washington—Presidt
and deputy from Virginia

Attest William Jackson Secretary

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[49] A temporary clause.

[50] In case of conflict between federal and state Constitutions and laws, the order of descending authority is: Constitution of the United States, laws and treaties of the United States; constitution of the states, laws of the states, ordinances of cities and towns. If a federal law and treaty conflict, the one more recently enacted or ratified, holds.

New Hampshire

John Langdon
Nicholas Gilman

Massachusetts

Nathaniel Gorham
Rufus King

Connecticut

W^{m}. Sam^{l}. Johnson
Roger Sherman

New York

Alexander Hamilton

New Jersey

Wil: Livingston
David Brearley
W^{m}. Paterson
Jona: Dayton

Pennsylvania

B Franklin
Thomas Mifflin
Rob^{t} Morris
Geo. Clymer
Tho^{s}. FitzSimons
Jared Ingersoll
James Wilson
Gouv Morris

Delaware

Geo: Read
Gunning Bedford jun
John Dickinson
Richard Bassett
Jaco: Broom

Maryland

James M^{c}Henry
Dan of S^{t} Tho^{s}. Jenifer
Dan^{l} Carroll

Virginia

John Blair—
James Madison Jr.

North Carolina

W^{m}. Blount
Rich^{d}. Dobbs Spaight.
Hu Williamson

South Carolina

J. Rutledge
Charles Cotesworth Pinckney
Charles Pinckney
Pierce Butler.

Georgia

William Few
Abr Baldwin

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

AMENDMENT I RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL FREEDOM[51]

86. Congress Must not Interfere with Freedom of Religion, Speech or Press. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion,[52] or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press;[53] or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

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[51] The first ten amendments, proclaimed in effect late in 1791, are restrictions on the federal government. These ten amendments are termed the Bill of Rights, although only the first eight guarantee specific rights to the people.

[52] As far as the federal government is concerned, the separation of church and state is established. But the clause does not restrict state governments from regulating religion, and several states continued with established religions for some years after 1791. Nearly all state constitutions now guarantee religious freedom.

[53] In practice this clause does not mean absolute freedom to speak without thought of the effect of one's speech. For example, one may be held accountable for malicious intent.

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AMENDMENT II RIGHT TO BEAR ARMS

87. Congress Must Not Deny the States a Militia. A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms,[54] shall not be infringed.

AMENDMENT III QUARTERING SOLDIERS

88. Congress Must not Quarter Soldiers on the People.[55] No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

AMENDMENT IV SEARCHES AND SEIZURES

89. Federal Officials Must not Authorize Unreasonable Searches. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.[56]

AMENDMENT V RIGHTS IN CRIMINAL PROSECUTION

90. Federal Courts Must not Violate Certain Rights of the People. No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment[57] of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law,[58] nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

AMENDMENT VI RIGHTS IN CRIMINAL PROSECUTION

91. Federal Courts Must Guarantee Certain Rights to the Accused. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

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[54] The original intent of this clause was to protect the states against a possible tyranny of the federal government. State laws now regulate the use of firearms.

[55] This is an ancient English grievance and is found among the grievances in the Declaration of Independence.

[56] Again, a long-standing grievance brought on by royal tyranny. In colonial times writs of assistance violated the letter of the right here demanded.

[57] Indictment is the finding of the grand jury, in the form of a written accusation, that there is probable cause for trial of the accused.

[58] A similar restriction is placed on the state governments in the Fourteenth Amendment [100]. Thus the Constitution strongly guards property rights against encroachment by either state or federal government. "Due process of law" implies a fair trial—one that hears before it condemns—under the rules established for judicial proceedings. This does not necessarily mean trial by jury.

AMENDMENT VII RIGHT OF TRIAL BY JURY

92. **Federal Courts Must Guarantee Jury Trial in Civil Suits.** In Suits at common law,[59] where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

AMENDMENT VIII EXCESSIVE BAIL, FINES AND PUNISHMENT

93. **Federal Courts Must Avoid Excesses.** Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.[60]

AMENDMENT IX UNENUMERATED RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE

94. **The Federal Government Exercises no Power over the Unenumerated Rights of the People.** The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

AMENDMENT X POWERS RESERVED TO STATES OR PEOPLE

95. **All Undelegated Powers Remain with the States or the People.** The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.[61]

AMENDMENT XI (1798) SUITS AGAINST STATES

96. **A State Cannot Be Sued by a Citizen of Another State.** The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.[62]

AMENDMENT XII (1804) ELECTION OF PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

97. **Changes Are Made in the Manner of Electing the President and Vice President.**[63] The Electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for

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[59] This guarantee applies to "suits at common law." Common law is, briefly, a set of *judicial usages* that began to develop in mediæval England without the authority of parliamentary legislation. Brought to America by the colonists, courts continued to use it along with statutory law (legislative acts) and constitutional law or the highest law. Amendment VI [91] guarantees jury trial in federal *criminal* cases.

[60] Again, an excellent example of the fear of the tyranny of government which the people had learned in their past struggles for liberty.

[61] Under this very important amendment the greater part of governmental power remains with the states, where it had originally been. Education and the control of crime are two examples of undelegated power remaining with the states.

[62] This modifies Clause 1, Section 2, Article III [69], over which a difference of opinion arose. This amendment is intended to protect the independence of the states, and was necessitated by a suit brought against the State of Georgia by a citizen of South Carolina.

[63] Supersedes Article II, Section 1, Clause 3 [57] and was adopted as a result of the Jefferson-Burr tie for the Presidency in 1800. Three changes are made: (1) provisions for separate ballots; (2) number of candidates eligible for consideration by House and Senate in event no candidate receives a majority vote in the Electoral College; and (3) provision on eligibility of Vice President, previously omitted.

President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;[64]—The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, [*before the fourth day of March next following*],[65] then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.—The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

AMENDMENT XIII (1865) FREEDOM FOR THE SLAVES

SECTION 1. SLAVERY PROHIBITED

98. There Shall Be no Slavery in the United States. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.[66]

SECTION 2. POWER OF ENFORCEMENT

99. Congress Has Power of Enforcement. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

AMENDMENT XIV (1868) CIVIL RIGHTS FOR THE NEGROES

SECTION 1. CITIZENSHIP

100. Who Are Citizens, and What Are Their Rights? All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside.[67] No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States;

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[64] See [58], note.

[65] Changed by Amendment XX to "noon on the 20th day of January" [116].

[66] This amendment abolished slavery in the States of Delaware and Kentucky. Federal and state action had previously emancipated the slaves in the other states and territories.

[67] Note the provision for dual citizenship.

nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law,[68] nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SECTION 2. REDUCTION OF REPRESENTATION

101. States Denying Male Suffrage Shall Have Their Representation Reduced.[69] Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed.[70] But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SECTION 3. LOSS OF POLITICAL PRIVILEGES

102. Many Southern Leaders Are Disqualified for Federal and State Offices. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

SECTION 4. PUBLIC DEBT

103. The War Debt of the Confederacy Is not Payable. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION 5. ENFORCEMENT

104. Congress Has Power of Enforcement. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

AMENDMENT XV (1870) POLITICAL RIGHTS FOR THE NEGROES

SECTION 1. RIGHT TO VOTE

105. The Negro Is Made a Voter. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.[71]

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[68] This clause extends to the states a restriction already placed on Congress [90]. Intended in part for the protection of the Negro, in time it resulted largely in increased power of the federal judiciary over the states, as state laws regulating corporations and their actions were declared in conflict with this clause. Many corporations, but few Negroes, have brought suit under this clause.

[69] This section and the next two represent congressional effort to punish the South for its participation in the War between the States. Section 2 has not been enforced.

[70] This provision supersedes Article I, Section 2, Clause 3 [5].

SECTION 2. ENFORCEMENT

106. Congress Has Power of Enforcement. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

AMENDMENT XVI (1913) INCOME TAX

107. Congress May Levy Income Taxes without Apportionment. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.[72]

AMENDMENT XVII (1913) POPULAR ELECTION OF SENATORS

108. Senators Are Elected Directly by the People. 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof,[73] for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

109. Vacancies Are Acted upon by the State Governor. 2. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided*, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

110. This Change Does not Affect the Senators in Office. 3. [*This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.*][74]

AMENDMENT XVIII (1919) NATIONAL PROHIBITION

SECTION 1. PROHIBITION OF LIQUOR TRAFFIC

111. The Manufacture, Sale or Transportation of Intoxicating Liquors for Beverage Purposes Is Prohibited. [*After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.*][75]

SECTION 2. ENFORCEMENT

112. Congress and the States Have Concurrent Power of Enforcement. [*The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.*]

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[71] Note that voting privileges shall not be denied for three specific reasons. A state may, and nearly all do, set up other qualifications for voting.

[72] Modifies Article I, Section 2, Clause 3 [5].

[73] Supersedes Article I, Section 3, Clause 1 [8].

[74] A temporary provision only.

[75] Under this clause the amendment was put into operation in 1920, but repealed 13 years later by Amendment XXI [122-24].

SECTION 3. CONDITIONS OF RATIFICATION

113. Amendment Must Be Ratified within Seven Years. [*This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.*][76]

AMENDMENT XIX (1920) WOMAN SUFFRAGE

114. Women Are Made Voters. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

115. Congress Has Power of Enforcement. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

AMENDMENT XX (1933) COMMENCEMENT OF CONGRESSIONAL AND PRESIDENTIAL TERMS

SECTION 1. END OF CONGRESSIONAL AND PRESIDENTIAL TERMS

116. Terms of President, Vice President and Congressmen Begin in January of Specific Odd Years. The terms of the President and Vice President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3d day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.[77]

SECTION 2. REGULAR CONGRESSIONAL SESSIONS

117. Congress Assembles January 3d of Each Year. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3d day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.[78]

SECTION 3. CONGRESS PROVIDES FOR ACTING PRESIDENT

118. Congress Provides by Law for Failure of President to Qualify in Time. If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President elect shall have died, the Vice President elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice President elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President elect nor a Vice President elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice President shall have qualified.[79]

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[76] A temporary clause and the first amendment to have a time limitation on the period of its ratification.

[77] Supersedes a clause in Amendment XII [97], note.

[78] Supersedes Article I, Section 4, Clause 2 [16]. This and the previous provision have given rise to the term, "Lame Duck" Amendment. Under the original provision [16], a defeated Senator or Representative served in the final session from December until March 4. Thus for four months following election he represented his state or district after having been rejected by the voters. Because of his defeat, lack of interest in or considerable absence from the session sometimes resulted. Occasionally he used his vote corruptly, but more frequently he went limping to the President for an appointive office. For these reasons he was called a "lame duck."

[79] This and the next provision strengthen Amendment XII [97].

SECTION 4. CONGRESS HAS POWER OVER UNUSUAL ELECTIONS

119. **When the Election Goes to Either House, Congress Provides by Law if Death Intervenes among Eligible Candidates.** The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

SECTION 5. DATE IN EFFECT

120. **Amendment Is Effective in October Following Ratification.** [*Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article.*][80]

SECTION 6. CONDITIONS OF RATIFICATION

121. **Amendment Must Be Ratified within Seven Years.** [*This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.*][80]

AMENDMENT XXI (1933) REPEAL OF NATIONAL PROHIBITION

SECTION 1. REPEAL

122. **The Eighteenth Amendment Is Repealed.** The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.[81]

SECTION 2. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT PROTECTS "DRY" STATES

123. **The Transportation of Intoxicating Liquors into "Dry" States for Use Therein Is Prohibited.** The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

SECTION 3. CONDITIONS OF RATIFICATION

124. **Amendment Must Be Ratified by State Conventions within Seven Years.**[82] [*This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.*][80]

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[80] A temporary clause.

[81] Like other superseded parts, Amendment XVIII [111-12] becomes merely an historical provision of the Constitution.

[82] This is the first amendment to be submitted to *conventions* in the states, although the original Constitution was ratified by conventions [85]. Like Amendments XVIII and XX, the time for ratification is limited to seven years.

APPENDIX II

Some Significant Events in American History

1492 American islands discovered by Columbus.
1519-22 Magellan expedition sails around the world.
1607 Jamestown founded.
1612 Tobacco culture started by James Rolfe in Jamestown.
1619 First shipment of slaves arrived in Virginia; House of Burgesses established.
1620 Pilgrims founded Plymouth Colony, Massachusetts; Mayflower Compact.
1628 Puritan migrations to New England began; Salem founded.
1630 Puritans founded Boston in the Massachusetts Bay Colony.
1636 Harvard College founded; Roger Williams established religious freedom in Rhode Island.
1643 New England Confederation.
1647 Massachusetts General School Law.
1649 Maryland Toleration Act.
1664 New York became an English colony.
1681 Pennsylvania founded.
1682 La Salle claimed Mississippi Valley for France.
1688 The Glorious Revolution in England.
1689 English Bill of Rights.
1754 Albany Plan of Union; French and Indian War began.
1759 Battle of Quebec.
1763 French and Indian War ended.
1765 Stamp Act Congress.
1774 First Continental Congress.
1775 Battles of Lexington, Concord, Bunker Hill; Second Continental Congress; Washington appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army.
1776 Declaration of Independence.
1777 Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga; Washington's army winters at Valley Forge.
1778 French Alliance.
1781 Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown; Articles of Confederation ratified.
1783 Treaty of Paris ending Revolutionary War; beginning of "Critical Period."
1785 Church and State separated in Virginia.
1787 Northwest Ordinance; Constitutional Convention.
1789 Constitution in effect; George Washington became first president; Judiciary Act passed.
1791 Bill of Rights or first 10 Amendments added to Constitution; political parties grew; Slater's spinning machinery; first United States Bank.
1793 Neutrality Proclamation; Whitney's cotton gin.
1796 Washington's Farewell Address.
1800 Republicans defeat Federalists in national elections.

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1801 John Marshall became Chief Justice of Federal Supreme Court; Thomas Jefferson became third president.
1803 Louisiana Purchase.
1807 Fulton's steamboat, *The Clermont*; Embargo Act.
1812 War with England began.
1814 War with England ended; Hartford Convention.
1816 First protective tariff; Second United States Bank.
1817 Erie Canal begun; Rush-Bagot agreement.
1819 Acquisition of Florida.
1820 Missouri Compromise.
1821 First free public high school; Troy Seminary pioneered in higher education for women.
1823 Monroe Doctrine.
1828 Baltimore and Ohio Railroad begun.
1829 Andrew Jackson elected seventh President.
1832 Nullification controversy; Jackson's war on the United States Bank.
1834 McCormick's reaper patented.
1837 Panic.
1839 Beginning of normal schools; Goodyear's process for vulcanizing rubber.
1842 Maine boundary determined by Webster-Ashburton Treaty.
1844 Telegraph commercially successful.
1845 Texas annexed.
1846 Mexican War begun; Oregon Cession; first successful operation on etherized patient; Howe's sewing machine invented.
1848 End of Mexican War; Mexican Cession; Woman's Rights Convention.
1849 California Gold Rush.
1850 Compromise on slavery.
1853 Perry opened Japan; Gadsden Purchase rounding out southwest border.
1854 Kansas-Nebraska Act; Republican party formed.
1857 Dred Scott Decision.
1858 Lincoln-Douglas Debates.
1859 John Brown's Raid; oil struck in Pennsylvania.
1860 Abraham Lincoln elected President; secession of South Carolina.
1861 War between the States began.
1862 Battle between the *Monitor* and the *Virginia*; Homestead Act, Morrill Act; Emancipation Proclamation.
1863 Battles of Vicksburg and Gettysburg; National Bank Act passed.
1865 Appomattox and close of the War between the States; Amendment XIII.
1866 First transatlantic cable.
1867 Patrons of Husbandry or Granger movement began; Alaska purchased.
1869 Knights of Labor organized; Union Pacific Railroad completed; steel plow.
1876 Bell's telephone; disputed presidential election.
1877 First great railroad strike; Selden's automobile.
1883 Pendleton Civil Service Act.
1886 American Federation of Labor organized.
1887 Inter-State Commerce Act passed.
1889 Department of Agriculture established; Pan-American Union founded.
1890 Sherman Anti-Trust Act; Sherman Silver Purchase Act.
1894 Pullman strike.
1895 Venezuela Boundary Dispute began.

1896 Populist program defeated in presidential election; first motion pictures shown in New York.
1897 High Dingley Tariff Act passed.
1898 Spanish-American War; Puerto Rico, Hawaii and Philippines acquired.
1900 Open Door Policy introduced.
1901 First wireless signal from Europe to America.
1902 Initiative and referendum introduced in Oregon; Venezuela Debt Affair.
1903 Wright brothers successful heavier-than-air craft; revolution in Panama.
1904 Theodore Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine; first great trust dissolved by Supreme Court.
1906 Hepburn Rate Act; Meat Inspection and Pure Food and Drugs Act; "Gentlemen's Agreement" with Japan.
1908 Governor's Conference on Conservation.
1912 Progressive Movement; election of Woodrow Wilson.
1913 Federal Reserve and Federal Trade Acts passed; Amendment XVII.
1914 First World War began.
1916 Adamson Eight-Hour Day Act.
1917 United States entered First World War.
1918 Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points; First World War Armistice.
1919 Treaty of Versailles.
1920 Amendment XIX; first radio broadcasting station; League of Nations established.
1922 Washington Naval Treaty; first session of World Court.
1927 Lindbergh's New York-Paris flight.
1929 Great Depression began; Kellogg-Briand Pact of Paris.
1932 Election of President Franklin D. Roosevelt.
1933 Amendment XXI; Soviet Union recognized; New Deal programs begun.
1934 Reciprocal Tariffs Act; Philippine Independence Act.
1935 First major Neutrality Act; Social Security Act; National Labor Relations Act.
1936 Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act.
1939 Second World War began.
1940 Selective Training and Service Acts.
1941 Lease-Lend Act; Attack on Pearl Harbor; United States entered Second World War.

APPENDIX III

A List of Books

J. T. Adams, *The Epic of America*, Boston, Little Brown, 1931.

F. L. Allen, *Only Yesterday*, New York, Harper, 1931.

F. L. Allen, *Since Yesterday*, New York, Harper, 1940.

C. M. Andrews, *Colonial Folkways*, New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1921.

J. S. Bassett, *A Short History of the United States*, New York, Macmillan, 1939.

C. A. Beard and M. R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, New York, Macmillan, 1930.

C. Becker, *The History of Modern Europe*, Course Three, EM-206.

H. W. Elson, *History of the United States of America*, New York, Harper, 1938.

H. U. Faulkner, *American Political and Social History*, EM-270.

H. U. Faulkner, *American Economic History*, New York, Harper, 1924, 1942.

C. R. Fish, *The Path of Empire*, New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1921.

H. J. Ford, *Washington and His Colleagues*, New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1921.

B. J. Hendrick, *The Age of Big Business*, New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1921.

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R. E. Keohane, M. P. Keohane, J. D. McGoldrick, *American Government*, Course Three, EM-216.

S. P. Orth, *Our Foreigners*, New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1921.

B. Perry, *The American Spirit in Literature*, New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1921.

C. Seymour, *Woodrow Wilson and the World War*, New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1921.

W. R. Shepherd, *The Hispanic Nations of the New World*, New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1921.

H. E. Sigerist, *American Medicine*, New York, Norton, 1934.

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C: a,3(6); b,1(5); c,4(13); d,1(4); e,1(5); f,3(7); g,5(16); h,4(13); i,5(16); j,3(7); k,2(6); l,6(14); m,4(13); n,4(13); o,5(16); p,5(16).
D: 1,c,c,e(1); 2,c,e(2); 3,e,c(2); 4,e,c(3); 5,c,e(3); 6,c,e(6); 7,e,c(7); 8,c,e,c(7); 9,e,c(9); 10,c,e(10).
E: 1,c(13,14); 2,e(5,13); 3,a(6); 4,d(7,13); 5,b(12,13); 6,b(12,16).

CHAPTER III

A: 1,a,c(2); 2,c(6); 3,a(7); 4,b,c(8); 5,b,c(4).
B: a,2(4); b,1(5); c,2(4); d,2(4); e,3(6); f,5(8); g,2(4); h,3(6); i,4(12); j,2(4); k,0(10); l,4(12); m,2(4).
C: 1,a,b(1); 2,b,c(2); 3,a(3); 4,b(3); 5,a,b,c(4,5); 6,a,b,c(6); 7,a,b,c(7-9); 8,b(10); 9,a,c(11); 10,c(12).
D: 2(3); 3(3); 4(7-9); 5(4,5); 8(6).
E: 1,c(3); 2,d(3); 3,b(4); 4,d(6,7); 5,d(9); 6,c(8,10); 7,c,d(6,12).

CHAPTER IV

A: 1,a,b(1); 2,a,b(8); 3,a,c(8); 4,a,c(11).
B: 1,a,b,d(1,2); 2,a,c,d(3); 3,c,d(5,6); 4,a,b,c,d(7); 5,b,c,d(5,6,8); 6,a,b,d(9,10,11); 7,a,b,d(12,13); 8,a,b,c,d(14).
C: 2(6); 3(6); 5(6); 6(9); 9(7).
D: a,1,2(5); b,2,3(10); c,1,2(12); d,2,5(15); e,1,2(12); f,2,5(15); g,1(12); h,2,4(6); i,2,3(10); j,2,4(8).

Chapter V

A: 1,a,c(2); 2,a,b,c(2); 3,a,c(4); 4,a,b(10).

B: 1,c(1); 2,a,b,c(1,2); 3,a,c(2); 4,b(3); 5,b,c(3); 6,a,b,c(4,5); 7,c(6); 8,a,b,c(7); 9,a,c(8); 10,a(9); 11,b,c(10).

C: 1,a,true(III,10); b,true(III,10); c,false,*32*(III,10); d,false,*1870's-1890's*(III,10); Conclusion,b,c(III,10).
2,a,false,*1840-50*(II,5); b,true(V,1); c,false,*increased*(V,2); d,true(V,6); e,true(II,7); Conclusion,a,c(II,5,V,2).
3,a,false,*old*(V,3); b,true(V,3); c,true(V,3); d,false,*more*(V,3); Conclusion,c(V,3).
4,a,true(II,7); b,true(IV,10,V,5); c,false,*has*(IV,7,V,4,5); d,false,*have*(I,6,II,9,III,8); Conclusion,a,b(II,7,IV,10,V,5).
5,a,true(V,10); b,false,*has*(V,10); c,false,*has*(V,10); d,false,*more*(V,10); Conclusion, a,b(V,10).

D: 3(1); 8(5); 9(6); 10(6); 12(7); 13(8).

Key to Half-Course Review and Self-Check

A: 1,a,f,*Sinclair Lewis*(IV,12); 2,d,f,*Edwin Arlington Robinson*(II,16,IV,12); 3,c,f,*Henry J. Raymond*(II,14,IV,12); 4,d,f,*Louis Agassiz*(II,5,II,16); 5,d,f,*Mary Lyon*(II,6,II,14); 6,b,f,*Elihu Burritt*(II,6,II,5).

B: 1,c(IV,1-3); 2,b(II,7); 3,b(II,13); 4,d(III,5); 5,c(V,3); 6,a(V,4); 7,c(V,8); 8,c(V,1,2); 9,d(IV,1).

C: 1,c(I,4,IV,4); 2,a(V,7); 3,d(II,8,9,IV,9); 4,c(II,5); 5,c(II,12); 6,d(II,14,III,6); 7,d(III,10); 8,c(IV,8); 9,c(IV,9-11,V,4,5); 10,d(II,16); 11,d(III,3); 12,c(V,1-11).

Chapter VI

A: 1,a,b(1); 2,a,b(1,7,10); 3,a,b,c(1); 4,a,b,c(8).

B: a,4(2); b,7(6); c,10(11); d,6(4); e,8(9); f,9(9); g,1(1); h,3(2); i,2(1); j,5(3).

C: 1,a,b,d(1); 2,a,c(1); 3,a,c,d(Fig.6); 4,a,b,d(1); 5,a,b(1); 6,a,c(4,5); 7,b,d(6); 8,b(6,11); 9,b(6,7); 10,a,b,d(6); 11,b,c,d(7,8); 12,a,c,d(7,8,9); 13,a,b,c(9); 14,b,c(10); 15,a,b,c,d(11).

D: 1,T(3); 2,ON(0); 3,ON(0); 4,F(1); 5,T(1); 6,F(6); 7,T(7); 8,T(9); 9,ON(9); 10,T(9); 11,T(9,10); 12,T(11).

E: 4(3); 6(6-10); 7(9,10).

Chapter VII

A: 1,b(7,Fig.10); 2,b(11); 3,c(4,Fig.10); 4,c(5,6).

B: a,5(5); b,4(3); c,9(5); d,8(6); e,7(7); f,1(9); g,2(5); h,10(3); i,3(9); j,6(6).

C: 1,c,b,a(1); 2,b,c,a(2); 3,b,a,c(3,4,7,Fig.10); 4,c,b,a(5,6,7,Fig.10); 5,c,a,b(9).

D: 1,c(2); 2,a(3,4); 3,a,b,c(5); 4,b,c(5); 5,a,b,c(6); 6,c(6); 7,a(7,Fig.10); 8,b(9).

E: 1,T(1); 2,F(1); 3,T(1); 4,T(2); 5,F(3); 6,T(3); 7,O(6); 8,O(6); 9,O,NI(0); 10,T(Fig.10); 11,T(10,11); 12,T(9).

F: 2,b(1); 3,d(2); 5,f(6); 6,a(4); 8,e(7); 9,c(7).

Chapter VIII

A: 1,b(4); 2,b(5); 3,b(8); 4,b,c(4,8,16); 5,b(11); 6,b,c(13); 7,b(14).
B: a,11(1); b,6(2); c,10(3); d,1(5); e,8(8); f,2(8); g,5(9); h,12(10); i,4(10); j,3(14); k,9(14); l,7(13).
C: 1,a,b(1); 2,b,c(1,III,6); 3,a,b,c(1); 4,b,c(2); 5,c(2); 6,b,c(1,2); 7,a(3); 8,a,c,d(4); 9,c(4); 10,c(6); 11,a,b(5); 12,a(7); 13,b(7); 14,a,c(9); 15,a,b(10); 16,b,c(11); 17,a,b(13-15).
D: 1,T(1-7,9-12); 2,F(9); 3,F(1,4,6,7,9,11); 4,T(4); 5,T(5); 6,ON(7); 7,OD(10); 8,T(11); 9,T(0); 10,F(15).
E: a,4(8); b,1(3); c,5(5); d,1(9); e,4,5(8); f,1,3(10); g,1(2); h,2(14); i,4(5); j,2(13).

Chapter IX

A: 1,a,b(1); 2,b(1); 3,b,c(2).
B: a,4(6); b,6(10); c,2(1); d,1(10); e,10(1); f,3(10); g,8(11); h,7(12); i,5(4,9); j,9(1).
C: 1,a,b(1); 2,a,b,c(1); 3,c(1); 4,c(2,3); 5,b(3); 6,a(4); 7,b(4); 8,c(Fig.14); 9,a(8); 10,c(4); 11,c(11,Fig.15); 12,c(11); 13,b(12); 14,c(5,12).
D: a,4(6); b,7(10); c,8(5); d,10 (4); e,1(6); f,2(6); g,3(12); h,6(6); i,5(6); j,9(6); see also Chapter XI, 10-17.
E: 1,neutral(2); 2,Allies(2); 3,creditor(2); 4,submarine(3); 5,Selective Service(4); 6,Foch(10); 7,Argonne(11,Fig.15); 8,Fourteen Points(12); 9,neutral(13).

Chapter X

A: 1,a,b,c(1); 2,b,c(2); 3,b,c(3); 4,a,b(4,5).
B: a,5(1); b,7(3); c,6(2); d,2(2); e,1(2); f,3(5); g,9(7); h,4(10); i,8(4);
D: 1,T(Points,6-13); 2,F(Charter,c); 3,O,NI(Charter,c); 4,T(Charter,h); 5,T(Points, 3,Charter,d); 6,F(Points,2,Charter,g).
E: 1,T(6); 2,T(1,2); 3,T(2); 4,T(3); 5,T(6); 6,O,NI(0); 7,T(6); 8,T(7); 9,O,NI(8); 10,T(8); 11,T(10); 12,O,NI(0).
F: 4(5); 6(8); 7(10); 8(8); 9(8).

Chapter XI

A: 1,a,b,c(2); 2,b,c(2); 3,b,c(2); 4,b,c(2).
B: 1,b,c,d(1,2,Fig.18); 2,a,b,c(2,3); 3,a,b(3,5); 4,a,b,c,d(2,6,7); 5,a,b(8); 6,c,d,e(13,14,15).
C: 1,T(1,5,Fig.18); 2,T(1-9); 3,O(4); 4,O(4); 5,F(6); 6,T(7,8); 7,F(7); 8,T(9); 9,O,NI(10,17); 10,T(12,Fig.19); 11,F(12,13); 12,T(12,13); 13,O(13); 14,F(15); 15,T(17); 16,F(17); 17,T(17).
D: 1,N(1); 2,N(2); 3,Y(2); 4,N(3); 5,Y(4); 6,Y(7); 7,Y(7); 8,Y(10); 9,N(13); 10,Y(17).

Key to Full-Course Review and Self-Check

A: a,8(X,7); b,5(III,8); c,9(IV,7); d,1(VIII,8); e,3(X,3); f,10(IV,10); g,12(II,6); h,4(XI,2); i,11(II,7); j,6(X,1); k,2(VI,11); l,7(III,6).

B: 1,f,2(IV,12); 2,c,f,4,6(II,6,VII,6); 3,b,c,f,5,1,2(VII,9,I,3,II,13); 4,e,f,g,5,12(VI,1,III,12,III,4); 5,a,c,f,h,2,2,1,4(IV,3,II,13,VIII,10,X,5); 6,b,f,g,5,4,5(VII,5,II,7,VII,7).

C: 1,b(I,6); 2,a(I,6); 3,b(II,7); 4,c(II,9); 5,b(II,2); 6,c(IV,2); 7,a(II,5); 8,d(III,12); 9,d(V,1); 10,c(II,13); 11,c(IV,1,2); 12,c(III,10); 13,b(II,14); 14,c(VII,4); 15,b(VII,1); 16,a(VII,6); 17,d(VII,3,4); 18,c(VII,6); 19,b(VIII,9); 20,c(VI,6); 21,c(VII,9,10); 22,d(VIII,13); 23,c(VI,9,10,XI,7); 24,b(VI,7,8,9,VII,9); 25,b(VIII,13); 26,c(VI,10,XI,5,7); 27,c(VIII,8); 28,c(X,8); 29,c(IX,1); 30,d(IX,2,3); 31,b(IX,4); 32,b(IX,10,11); 33,a(IX,12); 34,b(IX,12); 35,c(X,2,3); 36,b(VII,9,X,5,6,7); 37,c(X,7); 38,a(X,8,9); 39,a(VIII,3,4,5,XI,5,7); 40,b(XI,8); 41,c(XI,9,13,17); 42,d(XI,9,13); 43,c(XI,15); 44,b(XI,17).

D: 1,c,b,a(VII,4,6,7); 2,a,b,c(VIII,1-4); 3,c,a,b(VIII,3,4,10); 4,a,b,c(VI,6,9); 5,b,a,c(VI,6); 6,c,b,a(VI,9,IX,2,3,XI,7); 7,a,c,b(IX,2,3); 8,b,a,c(X,5,7,8).

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